

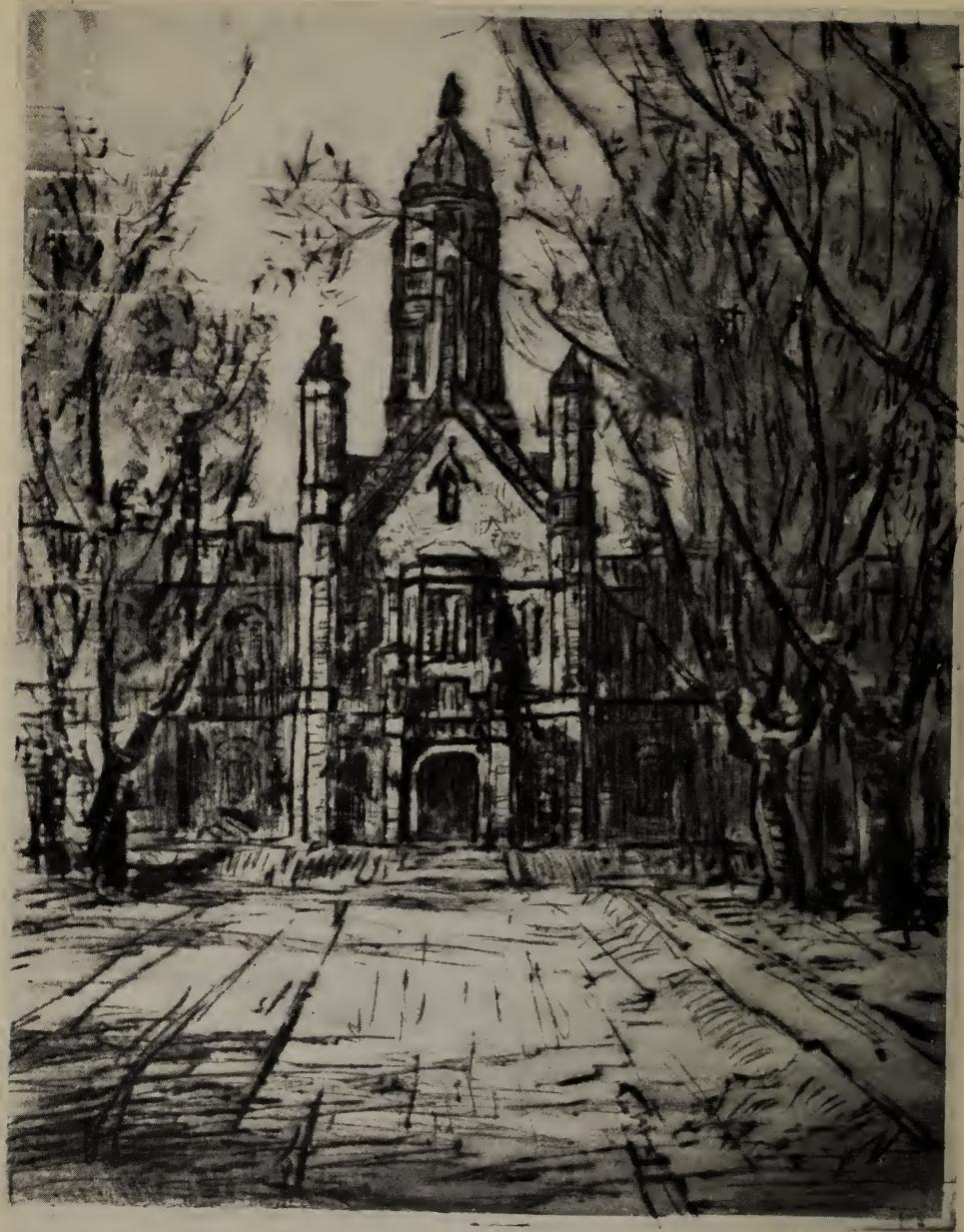


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A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE



OLD TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO

After the etching by Manly MacDonald

A HISTORY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

Trinity College

TORONTO



EDITED BY
T. A. REED

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
1952

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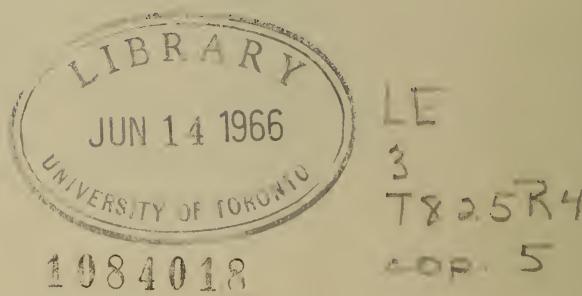
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SEMPER FOVERUNT

P R E F A C E

HE FOUNDER of Trinity College and those associated with him had certain ideals of education of which we need to be reminded from time to time. It is well also to recall how their successors sought to maintain those ideals in the changed conditions of later days. If this account of our history helps in any measure to prepare for the service the College should render in its second century it will have served a useful purpose.

The preparation of this history has been the work of many hands and derived from many sources. Some of these sources have been readily accessible, others have involved considerable research. The editor is most grateful to the many friends of the College who have helped him in this work. Chapter VIII, covering the period 1925 to 1952—the twenty-seven years since the removal to Queen's Park—has been prepared by some members of the teaching staff under the leadership of Dr. Philip Child and Professor Cecil Lewis. This group included the Reverend Charles R. Feilding, the Venerable J. B. Fotheringham, Professors W. Lyndon Smith, Charles A. Ashley, Sinclair M. Adams, R. Keith Hicks, Dr. A. E. Barker, and Dr. W. A. Kirkwood. Chapter IX, "St. Hilda's College," has been contributed by Miss Mabel Cartwright, LL.D., and Mrs. W. A. Kirkwood, Ph.D., the former and the present Principals of St. Hilda's.

The late Dr. Norman B. Gwyn supplied information regarding the Medical Faculty and the Trinity Medical School; Professor E. A. Dale the Latin dedication; and Mr. A. Scott Carter, R.C.A., the emblazonment of the College Arms. To the Provost special thanks are due for the Epilogue. For permission to use the poem *At the Gates of Old*

P R E F A C E

Trinity by Verna Loveday Harden, acknowledgment is made to the author and to the editor of *Saturday Night* where the poem first appeared.

In the preparation of the book as a whole invaluable assistance has been given by Miss Laila C. Scott, Miss Helen McClung, and Mr. William G. Colgate, all former graduates. To them and to Dr. F. H. Cosgrave, the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, for his advice and wise supervision, the editor is deeply indebted and profoundly grateful.

In addition to those mentioned in the text the editor wishes to thank the following who have sent in valuable contributions: Dr. R. G. Armour, '04; the Reverend Canon T. Stannage Boyle, '98; Archdeacon J. H. H. Coleman, '91; Miss Julia Jarvis; Professor, the Reverend J. H. Leighton, '91; the Most Reverend John Lyons, '06; H. Eric Machell, '15; A. Bruce Robertson, '25; Gerard B. Strathy, '00; the Reverend T. F. Summerhayes, '04; W. Clare White, '03; and the Reverend Walter H. White, '90. For making available much historical material acknowledgment must also be made to the Bursar of the College, Mr. Elliot G. Strathy; to the Librarian, Professor S. M. Adams, and his assistant, Miss Isabel Hunter; to the Provincial Archivist, Dr. George W. Spragge, '15, and to Miss Helen A. McClung, his predecessor; to the Librarian of the Legislative Assembly, Mrs. J. H. Fraser, '18; to Dr. W. Stewart Wallace, Librarian of the University of Toronto; and to R. C. Cant, Esq., Keeper of Muniments, University of St. Andrews, Scotland.

The files of *The Church, Rouge et Noir*, and *The Trinity University Review* (referred to throughout as *The Review*) in the library of Trinity College have proved to be of great value.

T. A. R.

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Four Provosts of Trinity College: Dr. E. A. Welch; Dr. C. A. Seager; Dr. F. H. Cosgrave; Dr. R. S. K. Seeley

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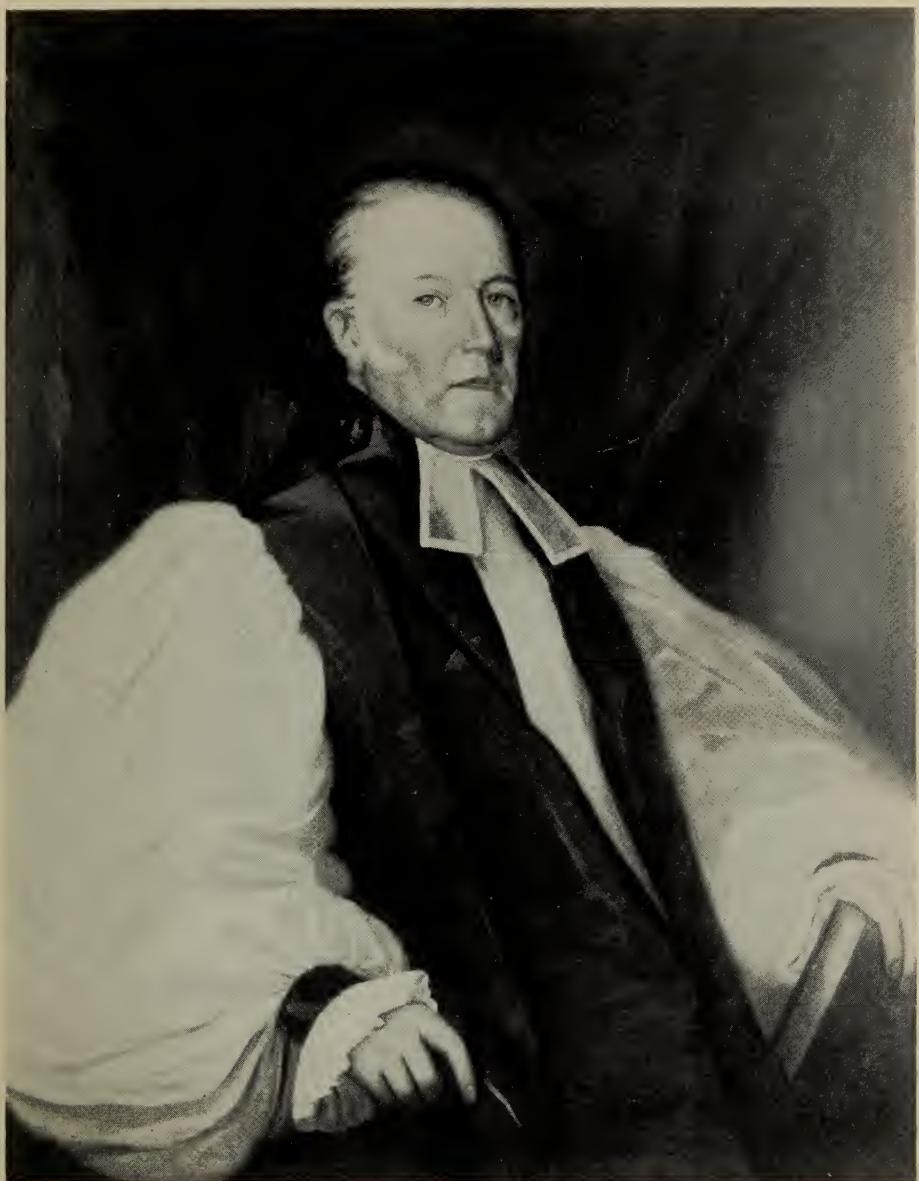
Cricket Team of 1897

University of Toronto Harrier Team 1913, "Five men of Trinity"

Basketball Team 1914—Sifton Cup Champions

Hockey Team 1921—Jennings Cup Champions

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JOHN STRACHAN

After the portrait by G. T. Berthon in the Great Hall, Hart House

CHAPTER ONE

THE FOUNDER

ALTHOUGH BORN a Presbyterian, John Strachan, it has been frequently stated, was attracted to the Church of England because it offered, or seemed to offer greater chances of advancement. As a matter of fact both his parents were dissenters from Presbyterianism and according to his own statement he himself was never a communicant. His father seems to have been a non-jurant Episcopalian, that is to say, one of those who, loyal to the Stuart cause, refused to acknowledge the house of Hanover; his mother was a member of the Relief Church, a religious body that had seceded from the Presbyterian Church and of liberal tendencies which allowed communion with other Christian bodies. Strachan himself was familiar with episcopal forms of worship, frequently attending, with his father, the ministrations of Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, the Primus of Scotland from 1789 to 1816.¹

John Strachan was born in Aberdeen on the twelfth of April 1778, "of parents not rich but respectable," to use his own words. The third son in a family of six children, John, the favourite of his mother, was regarded as the most serious and well fitted to become a gentleman and a scholar. In spite of the objections of his father, he was sent to the Latin or Grammar school at Aberdeen, a respectable seminary

¹Henry Scadding: *The First Bishop of Toronto: A Review and a Study* (Toronto, 1868). Fennings Taylor: *The Last Three Bishops Appointed by the Crown for the Anglican Church of Canada* (Montreal, 1869), pp. 192 and 193. Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, letter to the *Record*, an English Church newspaper, July 25, 1850, from the Bishop of Toronto refuting the statement "that Bishop Strachan is an ex-Presbyterian minister."

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governed by a rector and three masters and with an average attendance of 160 scholars. Although he does not appear to have been a particularly brilliant student, in five years he was qualified to enter King's College, University of Aberdeen, in November 1794.

The annual session at Aberdeen being for five months only, John, with the aid of a bursary and by employment as school-teacher during the long vacation, was able to earn sufficient income to help with the family expenses. His father had been killed by an explosion in a quarry where he was an overseer, and the care of his mother devolved to a great extent on the young student. In the spring of 1796, Strachan was appointed parish schoolmaster of Dunino, in the county of Fife, some eighty miles from Aberdeen, with a stipend of thirty pounds and a good house. Here he received his first encouragement as a teacher and here, too, he made three lifelong friends: Dr. James Brown and Thomas Duncan of the University of St. Andrews, and Thomas Chalmers, the eminent scholar and preacher and leader of the Free Church movement in the Church of Scotland. He returned to Aberdeen at the end of the year to complete his course and was graduated Master of Arts on the thirtieth of March 1797.²

A desire for a more lucrative position, a disappointment in a love affair, and conflict with the government over his refusing to give a list of his pupils of military age, resulted in Strachan's application for a larger school at Kettle (King's Kettle), a parish some twenty miles from Dunino. Here, at the age of nineteen, he made his first essay in the great field of educational labour, commencing his career (as he himself says) with a deeply rooted love for the cause. From the first it was his practice to study well and note the character and ability of his pupils and to start them on the

²See University of Aberdeen: *Officers and Graduates of University & King's College, Aberdeen, MVD-MDCCCLX* (Aberdeen, 1893; in the University of Toronto Library), p. 265, where Strachan is mentioned among other Masters of Arts, 1797: "Hi juvenes Artium Magistri renunciati fuere, promovente Magistro Roderico MacLeod, Sub-primario, Martii 30, . . . , Joannes Strachan, Aberdonensis."

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career for which they seemed best fitted. The discipline and teaching of the school were such that children from other districts were sent to it.³

In April 1797, Strachan had enrolled as a "partial attender" at the University of St. Andrews, where young men preparing for the ministry might take lectures in Divinity for the complete session or have their attendance spread over a longer period. At the conclusion of his studies, in 1799, the principal Dr. Hill testified to his understanding, his talents for composition, and his high qualifications as a public teacher.⁴

Although successful and fairly happy at Kettle, Strachan's restless ambition sought other and greater opportunities. His friend, Dr. James Brown, who had been appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, proposed to make Strachan his assistant, but difficulties arose; Dr. Brown was retired on pension and Strachan was not considered. "This to me was a very bitter disappointment, but I was not overwhelmed. God had, in his goodness, given me a cheerful spirit of endurance, and a kind Providence, even before I had recovered from the shock, presented me an opportunity of removing to another sphere of activity, which in my then frame of mind I was the more disposed to accept, namely, employment in Canada."⁵

Among the many things contemplated by the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, for the new province, and for the benefit of the people, was the establishment of grammar schools in various districts and of "a college of a higher class" at the seat of government.⁶ Some time after Simcoe's return to England in 1796—the

³Bishop Strachan: *Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto at the Visitation on Tuesday, June 12, 1860* (Toronto, 1860). Fennings Taylor: *The Last Three Bishops Appointed by the Crown*, p. 196: "He taught 127 boys at Kettle."

⁴Alexander Neil Bethune: *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Toronto* (Toronto, 1870), p. 5.

⁵Bishop Strachan: *Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, 1860*.

⁶Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of Great Britain, Written by Lieut.-Governor Simcoe (Toronto, 1890). The letter is dated January 8, 1791.

reason for the delay is obscure—the Reverend Dr. George Hamilton of Gladsmuir, a brother of the Honourable Robert Hamilton of Queenston, asked the professors at St. Andrews to recommend a young man as tutor to the children of the Honourable Richard Cartwright of Kingston. The position, which held the prospect of further advancement in the teaching profession and even the possibility of becoming the head of a projected university, was offered to two friends of Strachan, first to Thomas Duncan and then to Thomas Chalmers. Finally it was offered to Strachan who, after some hesitation, chiefly on account of his mother, decided to accept the appointment.

John Strachan, then twenty-one years of age, sailed from Greenock on the twenty-sixth of August 1799, to be picked up at Cork by convoy, for England was then at war with France. So wretched was the state of navigation in those days and so perilous the voyage, that he did not arrive in New York until the thirteenth of November. After a week there, during which he “saw the town” and visited the docks and shipping, he took passage in a sail-boat up the Hudson for Albany; then by stage coach and sleigh and sometimes on foot, proceeding by way of Saratoga and Burlington, under conditions unbelievably primitive, he covered the remaining 140 miles in eight days. At Burlington, impatient of repeated delays, he bargained with a little Jew named Lazarus, who had a conveyance, to take him to Montreal. The bargain fell through when Lazarus refused to travel on the Saturday. “I whistled,” said Strachan, “which I sometimes do when angry. When we arrived at Rousse’s Tavern,⁷ after walking ten miles of the way, we hired Rousse to fetch us along the ice about eighteen miles, to St. John’s.” He arrived in Montreal at last on the twelfth of December 1799.⁸

The next day Strachan called on James McGill of Burn-

⁷Now called Rouses Point.

⁸Trinity College Library, Toronto, Strachan MS.

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side with a "letter of credit," and was "received with civility and invited to dinner." This meeting was the beginning of a friendship which increased with the years, an intimacy that was further enhanced by Strachan's marriage in 1807 to Andrew McGill's widow, and by James McGill's frequent visits to Strachan's home in Cornwall.⁹ McGill, like Strachan, was a believer in the value of education and on the question of method he sought advice from his young friend. James McGill died in December 1813, leaving Strachan as one of the executors of his large estate. Strachan writing to the other surviving executors seven years later said, "It was, I believe, at Cornwall during one of the visits which Mr. McGill made to Mrs. Strachan and me that his final resolution respecting the erection of a College after his name, endowing it, etc. was taken.... We had repeated conversations upon the subject . . . [McGill] expressing at the same time a wish that if he did anything I should take an active part in the proposed College." Although the will does not mention this, it may be assumed that because of Strachan's close friendship, his connection by marriage, and his established reputation as a brilliant and successful educationist with definite ideas on Canadian nationality, James McGill desired that he should have a prominent part in the organization of the college and that possibly he should be its first principal. Indeed, as Strachan declared later, it was with much difficulty that he was able to prevail upon his friend to forbear making it a condition of his bequest that Strachan should fill that position.¹⁰

On Christmas Eve, 1799, after nearly two weeks of visiting and sightseeing in Montreal, during which he met several former Aberdonians by whom he was hospitably entertained (notably by one, Alexander Skakel),¹¹ he departed on the last lap of his journey to Kingston by "carryall" (cariole).

⁹James McGill (1744-1813); Andrew McGill (1756-1805).

¹⁰Cyrus Macmillan: *McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921* (London, 1921), pp. 36-38.

¹¹Ibid. Alexander Skakel, M.A. Aberdeen 1794; LL.D. Aberdeen (*honoris causa*) 1845. Master of Royal Grammar School, Montreal, 1818.

The trip was a nightmare. Drunken drivers, desperately bad roads, accommodation at wayside inns and settlers' houses of the most primitive sort—it is little wonder that his arrival in Kingston was delayed until the last day of the year.¹²

The exhausting journey and the grim, desolate appearance of the country were to him a source of great disappointment and depression. But a still more bitter disappointment awaited him. On arriving at Mr. Cartwright's house he found that Governor Simcoe's plans had not materialized, and was told that the leading men of the Province of Upper Canada had expressed the opinion that the country was not ready for an institution of higher learning. "I was so beat down," he said, "that, if I had been in possession of twenty pounds, I should have returned at once; but in truth I did not have twenty shillings." In the Honourable Richard Cartwright, however, he found a friend. Realizing the position in which Strachan was placed, he suggested a temporary arrangement whereby Strachan would be provided with living quarters in Mr. Cartwright's house and would take charge of his sons and possibly other pupils. If, at the expiration of three years, the country did not present a reasonable prospect of advancement, Strachan could then, if he wished, return to Scotland.

Mr. Cartwright's elder sons, Richard and James, and his daughter Hannah, together with James and Andrew Stuart, sons of the Reverend John Stuart,¹³ the minister of St. George's Church, formed the nucleus of the school which was shortly increased to twelve pupils. This little school, even then dis-

¹²Trinity College Library, Toronto, Strachan MS.; Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*. For a more detailed account of this journey see *Ontario History* (the quarterly of the Ontario Historical Society), vol. XLII (1950), no. 4.

¹³John Stuart (1740-1811), M.A., D.D., originally a Presbyterian, ordained 1770; missionary to the Mohawks, Fort Hunter, N.Y., 1770-81; evening lecturer, and schoolmaster, parish of Montreal, 1781-85; missionary to the Mohawks at the Bay of "Kenti" and to the whites at Kingston 1785-1811; Bishop's official, Upper Canada, 1789-1811; Chaplain to the Legislative Council, Upper Canada, 1792-1807; died at Kingston 1811. A. H. Young, M.A., D.C.L.: *The Reverend John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., of Kingston, U.C., and His Family* (Kingston, 1920).

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tinguished for its instruction and discipline, flourished for more than three years. Mr. Strachan formed strong attachments with the Cartwright and Stuart families, a similarity of feeling and interests confirming and enhancing their mutual regard. No greater evidence of this mutual trust could be shown than the appointment of Strachan as guardian of Mr. Cartwright's infant children. Strachan's association with Dr. Stuart developed into an intimate friendship, and it was largely owing to his influence and instruction that Strachan decided to study for Holy Orders in the Church of England, devoting all his spare time to that end. Early in 1803 he was recommended to Bishop Mountain of Quebec, by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, Dr. Stuart, and Mr. Cartwright, for ordination.¹⁴ The Bishop, on examination, found their good opinions fully justified and at Quebec, on the twenty-second of May, the young student was admitted to the diaconate,¹⁵ and immediately appointed to the mission of Cornwall. This was a large parish but with neither church nor parsonage. A parsonage, however, was soon supplied and meetings for the erection of the Church were held in the Presbyterian Meeting-house of his friend, the Reverend John Bethune. In 1804, Strachan again journeyed to Quebec, and was advanced to the priesthood on the third of June by Bishop Mountain. With the assistance of a government grant, a church building was erected and opened for divine service in January 1806. Four years later room for the greatly increased congregation was provided by the addition of a gallery.

Since Strachan's clerical duties at Cornwall were not sufficiently onerous to occupy all his time, he was prevailed

¹⁴Ontario Historical Society, *Proceedings*, vol. XXV (1929), pp. 492 and 493; letters of the Honourable Richard Cartwright, M.L.C., to the Lieutenant-Governor's secretary, January 5, 1803, and to the Bishop of Quebec, May 1803, recommending Strachan for ordination.

¹⁵The date of John Strachan's ordination has been variously stated by different writers. The date given by Bishop Bethune, May 22, 1803, has been verified as correct by the Dean of Quebec, Dr. R. L. Seaborn, from the Cathedral records.

upon by some of his Kingston friends to resume his school-teaching. Thus was founded the school, the Cornwall Academy, which became famous throughout Upper and Lower Canada, for at that time there was no college where Protestant youth could obtain a liberal education. His protégé and lifelong friend, John Beverley Robinson, was one among many of his scholars who afterwards became prominent in the public life of the country, filling high offices in church and state. He was a pupil at the Cornwall school from November 1803 until the summer of 1807.¹⁶

In spite of these additional duties, which took up fully sixteen hours a day, the nine years at Cornwall were often referred to by Strachan as the happiest in his life. Contributory to this happiness was, of course, his marriage on the ninth of May 1807 to Anne McGill,¹⁷ widow of Andrew McGill, and daughter of Dr. George Thomson Wood, of Cornwall, a United Empire Loyalist. One of Strachan's biographers says "the young clergyman's conduct was worthy, alike of praise and imitation for he showed his taste by marrying the prettiest, his prudence by marrying the richest and his good judgment by marrying one of the nicest young gentlewomen in the town of Cornwall."¹⁸

Notwithstanding the establishment in 1807 of grammar schools in eight districts of the Province the Cornwall school continued to flourish. Instead of the expected falling off in pupils, "my reputation for teaching," Strachan wrote to a friend in Scotland, "still secures me as many as ever—my number is at present thirty-six. I was forced this year to build

¹⁶C. W. Robinson: *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 18.

¹⁷The marriage was performed by the Reverend John Bethune, Presbyterian divine, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Williamstown, Glengarry County. "The Reverend John Strachan of Cornwall and Mrs. Ann McGill, widow of the late Andrew McGill of Montreal were married by me. J.B. 9 May 1807." From his Marriage Register, now in the Ontario Archives.

¹⁸Fennings Taylor: *The Last Three Bishops Appointed by the Crown*, p. 206.

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a school-house and repair the parsonage and furnish it in a better state, which emptied my pockets.”¹⁹

In 1833 forty-two of Strachan’s former Cornwall students presented him with a massive silver epergne, of the value of 230 guineas, as a token of their reverence and affection. The address which accompanied it bore the signatures of many men who had attained high office in state and church and in public life. Thus they recorded their grateful recollections of his unwearied efforts to impress upon them sound moral and religious principles. The epergne is now a treasured possession of Trinity College and decorates the head table at many College functions.²⁰

In 1811, his Alma Mater, the University of Aberdeen, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity,²¹ probably through the influence of his old friend and former counsellor, Dr. James Brown of St. Andrews, to whom he had expressed the opinion some three years before “that a degree might in some measure increase my influence.” But it is doubtful whether any influence was necessary; his fame as a teacher was widespread.

There were, however, great changes in the offing. In August 1811, his “spiritual father,” the Reverend John Stuart of Kingston, died, terminating an affectionate friendship that had subsisted since Dr. Strachan’s arrival in Canada more than twelve years before. Mr. Cartwright and other friends hoped that Strachan would succeed to the Kingston charge, but when Strachan learned that Mrs. Stuart wished her son,

¹⁹Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, letters to Dr. James Brown, October 20, 1807, and October 9, 1808. Lady Matilda Edgar: *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-1815, being the Ridout Letters* (Toronto, 1890), pp. 16 and 25.

²⁰For the text of the address and the names of the signatories see A. N. Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*, pp. 147-49.

²¹University of Aberdeen: *Officers and Graduates*, p. 106; among others, Doctors of Divinity, “1811, January 22, R. Mag. Joannes Strachan, hujus Academiæ alumnus et Ecclesiae apud Cornwall in Canada Super, Rector, (gratis).”

George Okill,²² to be brought from York to succeed his father, he not only withdrew his own name but urged the appointment of the son of his former friend.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Gore and the Lord Bishop of Quebec then offered Strachan the parish of York. This he at first declined, but eventually accepted on the urgent request of Chief Justice Thomas Scott and other citizens, seconded by Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, who also appointed him chaplain to the troops and to the Legislative Council.²³ The transfer to York took place on the first day of July 1812. Twelve days before this the United States had declared war on Great Britain.

York in 1812 was a straggling place of less than eight hundred inhabitants. Of the 120 houses, apart from the government buildings, only one was built of brick. The only church, of frame construction, was quite ample for the parishioners of the day. But to John Strachan, at thirty-four years of age, the prospects were attractive and the possibilities great.

In addition to his clerical duties, he had the responsibility of the grammar school, which had been opened in 1807 by his predecessor, George Okill Stuart, in a small one-storey building adjoining his own house. Now it had been temporarily transferred to a barn in the outskirts of the town near the corner of the present King and Yonge Streets.

The war which then raged was a new anxiety. The daily fear of invasion, the absence of all able-bodied men on military duty, and the necessity of providing for their families—all these created formidable and unforeseen difficulties. With the approach of spring, the worst fears of the townspeople were realized. On the twenty-seventh of April the place was attacked by an American fleet of sixteen armed

²²The Reverend George Okill Stuart, minister at York from 1800, was also headmaster of the Home (York) District Grammar School from 1807 until his removal to Kingston in 1812.

²³A. N. Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*, p. 39.

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vessels and a military force of 1,800 men. The British forces under Major-General Sheaffe consisted of 250 regulars, 350 men of the Third York Militia, and 100 Indians. After an unequal struggle for eight hours, the British regulars blew up the fort with all its military stores, burned the vessels under construction, and retreated eastward towards Kingston.

General Sheaffe handed the command of the town over to Colonel William Chewett and Major William Allan of the Third York Militia with instructions to arrange as best they could for its capitulation. So incensed was the American commander, General Dearborn, at the explosion of the powder magazine and the resultant loss of General Zebulon Pike and 250 of his best soldiers that he threatened "to make the town smoke for it." Dr. Strachan, hearing of this threat, sought an audience with the General and in no uncertain terms demanded protection for the town and its people. Contrary to the General's assurance that no private home would be pillaged, the enemy violated other provisions of the terms of capitulation, plundered the Church, burned the government buildings, destroyed the public library, and robbed many houses.

Dr. Strachan was chiefly instrumental in organizing the Loyal and Patriotic Society with branches throughout the Province for the relief of the wounded militia and the support of the widows and children of the militia men killed and the families of the men still fighting. By the winter of 1814 the funds collected exceeded the sum of £10,000. As the war went on, the care of the sick and wounded also became an acute problem. Dr. Strachan, on being appealed to by the British General Vincent, in the autumn of 1813 placed his church, St. James, at the disposal of the military authorities. The Church—the only one in York—was turned into a general hospital and used as such until the end of the war. According to Dr. William ("Tiger") Dunlop, assistant sur-

geon of the 89th Regiment, the accommodations were comfortable by comparison with what the army had lately been obliged to put up with on the Niagara frontier.²⁴

During this period of stress Strachan was not free from personal trouble and anxieties. In September 1812 his two-year old daughter had died suddenly and early in 1813 he was advised of the death of his mother at the age of seventy-five. In March 1815, while he was visiting the hospitals, his house and its contents were burned. Mrs. Strachan and the infant children were safe, but the destruction of furniture, books, and manuscripts was great. His old friend and adviser, the Honourable Richard Cartwright, worn out with the labour and trials of the war, died in July 1815, leaving Dr. Strachan as one of his executors and the guardian of his infant sons.

In spite of the temporary loss of his church he neglected none of his parochial duties, as the parish records of St. James' Cathedral show. Baptisms, marriages, and burials among his flock were many. At the visitation of the parish by the Bishop of Quebec on the twenty-first of September 1813, forty candidates were presented for confirmation.²⁵ Nor was the District School neglected. Less than two weeks after the American invaders had departed, "the little dominie" resumed the classes which had been interrupted by the invasion. Writing on the tenth of May to the Honourable John Richardson, whose son was a pupil there, he said: "We have commenced School today."²⁶

²⁴Dr. William Dunlop: *Recollections of the American War 1812-14* (Toronto, 1905), p. 89. John Douglas: *Medical Topography of Upper Canada* (London, 1819), p. 82. George W. Spragge, ed.: *The John Strachan Letter Book, 1812 to 1834* (Toronto, 1946), January 1, 1814, report to the Reverend Dr. Owen, Chaplain General: "So great was the number of sick [at Burlington Heights] for some time upwards of 400 that I was obliged to give up the Church for their reception, a step which could only be justified by the most imperious necessity. . . . I visit the hospitals twice a week." Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, letter dated March 20, 1816, from Major J. Harvey, D.A.G., Quebec, to John Strachan: "I am extremely glad that there is a prospect of you receiving some compensation for your humane and disinterested exertions in attendance on the sick and wounded of the Army."

²⁵George W. Spragge, ed.: *Strachan Letter Book*, September 21, 1813.

²⁶*Ibid.*, May 10, 1813.

The peace, long prayed for and welcomed by the combatants on both sides, came with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on the twenty-fourth of December 1814, and its ratification at Washington on the eighteenth of February following.

With the return of peace Dr. Strachan was free to turn his mind to his avocations. He at once proceeded with the reorganization of the Home District Grammar School. Early in 1815, at the request of Chief Justice Scott, he drew up an elaborate report on the state of religion and education in Upper Canada for submission to the Provisional Governor, Sir Gordon Drummond.²⁷ Among other things he urged that a commodious schoolhouse be built in each district where the population justified it, that the minimum of instruction should include Latin, French, and English languages, arithmetic, geography, and practical mathematics, that trustees should visit the schools regularly, and that a public examination should be held annually prior to the summer vacation. As a result of this report the building of the Home District Grammar School was soon under way and it was opened early in 1816. It was a frame structure in the six-acre field set aside immediately north of the Church for school purposes in 1797 and its fame has come down to posterity under the name of the Blue School.²⁸ Here Dr. Strachan continued and expanded the methods in which he had been so successful in Kingston and Cornwall and gave renewed life to educational matters by a reorganization on a broader basis of his predecessor's system of training. The number of boys attending the Blue School in 1818 amounted to fifty; a list of the names

²⁷During the period September 1811 to September 1815 the administration of the Province was under the Commander of the Forces, although Sir Francis Gore was nominally the Lieutenant-Governor from 1806 to 1817.

²⁸Further information regarding Dr. Strachan's methods and success as a teacher will be found in Henry Scadding: *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873); J. Ross Robertson's chapter on "The Old Blue School" in *A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892*, ed. George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam (Toronto, 1893); George W. Spragge, ed.: *Strachan Letter Book and Ontario History*, vol. XLIII (1951), no. 3; J. George Hodgins, LL.D.: *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, vols. I, IV (Toronto, 1894, 1897).

reads like a directory of the town including, as it did, the names of practically all the known residents.²⁹

Strachan's connection with public life was inevitable, when one considers the condition of the sparsely populated country. Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who from the first held Strachan in high esteem, recommended to the Home Government in 1815 his appointment as an honorary member of the Executive Council. He was admitted in September and succeeded Chief Justice Scott as a regular member in 1817. Gore's successor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, had him appointed to the Legislative Council in 1820, and President of the Board for the General Superintendence of Education in 1823, principally on account of his high standing and wide fame as an educator. Both of these positions he accepted, because, as he has stated, it gave him more influence and greater opportunities for promoting plans for the moral and religious instruction of the people. He regarded himself as the duly authorized state champion of the Church of England, and when he was the recipient of further honours he valued them as much for the prestige they added to the Church as to himself personally.

But Strachan's efforts aroused opposition in many quarters, and for nearly thirty years he was engaged in two great conflicts, the settlement of the Clergy Reserves and the establishment of a University in Upper Canada.

It is unnecessary to go into detail here regarding the Reserves, a subject which has been dealt with at length by many writers. Under the Constitutional Act of 1791 the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada was authorized to set aside in each township certain tracts of land for support of "a Protestant clergy." The claim that the

²⁹On his resignation as headmaster in July 1823, the Trustees of the Home District Grammar School expressed appreciation of his merits and the great benefit which this District in particular and the Province in general had received from his labours. Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, letter from the Trustees of the School to Strachan, July 23, 1823.

lands were intended solely for the support of the clergy of the Church of England was not allowed to go unchallenged, for as early as 1819 the law officers of the Crown supported the contention of the Church of Scotland that their church was also established by law and that their ministers had equal rights thereto. In 1828 a select committee of the House of Commons ruled that the term “a Protestant clergy” *might* include ministers of other Protestant bodies. On the other hand Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1824 ruled that there should be no interference with the undeniable claims of the Church of England; in 1832 his successor, Lord Goderich, not only took the same stand but instructed the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, to endow rectories in the settled parts of the Province. In August 1840 a compromise was agreed upon and the Home Government, on the suggestion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, authorized the sale of the balance of the lands and the distribution of the proceeds, five-twelfths to the Church of England and seven-twelfths to the Church of Scotland and other dissenting bodies. This compromise was accepted by Strachan and his associates as final.

In 1851 the whole question was reopened by Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, who, while deprecating a disturbance of the existing arrangements, ruled that the settlement was essentially a matter for the Provincial Legislature. In 1854, in spite of Bishop Strachan’s protests, a bill was finally passed which was regarded as a wise piece of legislation. It confirmed in principle the endowment of the forty-four rectories by Sir John Colborne in 1836 and the annual stipends of the clergy and clergymen’s widows under the act of 1840. Subject to these charges the whole of the proceeds of the balance of the Reserves was divided among the several municipalities in the Province in proportion to their population. Out of the “wreckage” of the Reserves, Bishop Strachan, with the active assistance of the Honourable John Hillyard

Cameron, was able to devise a plan whereby the annuitants agreed to commute their life interest for a bulk amount, which resulted in the sum of £224,900.16.8 being handed over to the Church to be held in trust for the clergy. This fund for the Diocese of Toronto alone now has a capital value of \$410,000 and provides for grants to retired and needy clergy amounting to \$13,000 annually.³⁰

Strachan's other great interest, the subject of prolonged controversy, was the University question.

The establishment of "a college of a higher class," visualized by the first Governor of Upper Canada before leaving England in 1791, was never far from Simcoe's thoughts throughout his five years in the Province. The following year, 1797, the Legislature petitioned the Home Government and received an appropriation of 500,000 acres for the endowment of a university and grammar schools. The price of Crown lands at that time was about ninepence per acre.

In 1807, largely through the efforts of John Strachan, an act was passed for the establishment of a grammar school in each district of the Province. This was supplemented in 1824 by grants for common, or public schools and while these provisions left much to be desired, the principles of preparatory education they established worked fairly well.

In 1825, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who soon after taking office in 1818 had made some tentative plans, felt that the time was now ripe for a move to be made towards the establishment of a University. On the nineteenth of December he sent a communication to Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, suggesting an exchange of some of the original endowment lands in outlying districts for Crown lands in a better location, which could be sold for a higher figure. To

³⁰In his address to the Synod in 1856, Bishop Strachan paid tribute to the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron for his indefatigable labour, patience, skill, and ability in consolidating these funds for the benefit of the clergy. In 1863 Mr. Cameron was elected Chancellor of Trinity College on the death of the Honourable Sir John Beverley Robinson.

follow this up with a personal approach he prevailed upon Dr. Strachan, on account of his intimate knowledge of the educational system, to proceed to England to expedite matters. Leaving York in March 1826 Strachan arrived in London towards the end of April.

So successful was Strachan in his mission that the Colonial Secretary sent the following communication to Sir Peregrine Maitland dated the thirty-first of March 1827. "I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty has been pleased to grant a Royal Charter by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, for establishing at or near the Town of York in the Province of Upper Canada, one College, with the style and privileges of a University, for the education and instruction of youth in Arts and Faculties, to continue for ever, to be called King's College." In addition the sum of £1,000 per annum was granted towards the erection of the necessary buildings and the exchange of wild lands for Crown Reserves in more favourable locations was authorized. "You will proceed to endow King's College with the said Crown Reserves with as little delay as possible." The Charter was dated March 15, 1827, and on June 3, 1828, a Patent was issued endowing the University of King's College with 225,000 acres of Crown lands.

Thus success had rewarded the efforts of Dr. Strachan and the dreams of his youth and early manhood seemed about to be realized. But the success was more apparent than real. Under the terms of the Charter, the University was to be a Church of England institution, with the Bishop of Quebec as Visitor, and the Archdeacon of York, President *ex officio*;³¹ the members of the Council were to be members of the Church of England and to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. The College was to be open to all denominations of Christians;

³¹Strachan was appointed Archdeacon of York on June 28, 1827. See *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1946-1947* (Québec, 1947), "Historical Records of the Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec," ed. Canon A. R. Kelley, '02; here the date of his appointment is given as September 6, 1827.

the professors, except those appointed to the Council, were not required to be of the Church of England and only in Divinity were religious tests to be imposed on undergraduates. Strachan was blamed for what was called the exclusive nature of the King's College Charter; but, whatever its terms, it was the most liberal that, up to that time, had ever passed under the Great Seal. In his address at the official opening of the College on the eighth of June 1843, Bishop Strachan referred to it as follows:

The Charter of the University of King's College was not hastily settled. It was nearly a whole year under serious deliberation. It was repeatedly referred to the . . . Archbishop of Canterbury . . . who doubted the propriety of assenting to an instrument so free and so comprehensive in its provisions.

It was considered, not only the most open Charter that had ever been granted, but the most liberal that could be framed on Constitutional principles; and His Majesty's Government declared that, in passing it, they had gone to the utmost limit of concession.

Quoting this speech, Dr. Hodgins in his *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* comments:

. . . the Reverend Doctor Strachan was not personally responsible for the most objectionable denominational features of the Royal Charter of King's College. . . .

One can scarcely read this Address . . . without a feeling of personal sympathy for the heroic Old Man, who all these years, from 1827 to 1843, had endured a good deal of odium for a Charter—based indeed on purely denominational lines—but which, had his advice and counsel to the Colonial Secretary been taken, would have had eliminated from it, at the beginning, some of the most objectionable of its features. One cannot, nevertheless, but admire his constancy and loyalty to the terms of a gift from the Imperial Government, not altogether to his liking, but which, taken as a whole, he then regarded as a great boon to Upper Canada.³²

A site of 150 acres, with avenues of approach from Yonge Street and Lot (Queen) Street was purchased in 1828 for the

³²Vol. IV, p. 287. See also A. N. Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*, p. 110.

sum of approximately £4,000 currency (\$16,000).³³ This area, far to the northwest of the then town of York, is now the site of the Parliament Buildings, the University of Toronto and its Colleges. Plans and specifications were soon under consideration and there was prospect of an early opening of King's College, when in 1828 its promoter and patron, Sir Peregrine Maitland, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

His successor in Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, was a man of a different stamp. Both had fought at the battle of Waterloo and had brilliant military records. But there resemblance ceases. Sir John, on assuming office, refused, as Chancellor of King's College, *ex officio*, to allow the work to proceed until certain amendments had been made in the Charter. In this he may have had the instructions of the Imperial Government, but whether or not this be so, he was not convinced of the immediate necessity of a university in Upper Canada. He was more interested in the founding of schools for primary and secondary education and, to that end, urged the College Council to appropriate a portion of the endowment for the building of Upper Canada College. This action stayed for a time Strachan's ambitions. A new curriculum, wholly classical, devised by the Governor and his brother-in-law, the Reverend James H. Harris, D.D., the first principal of this new college, replaced Strachan's scheme of studies which had been so successful at Cornwall and York, and which included English, history, mathematics, and the sciences.

Later, in 1832, with the abolition of the Board of Education, Strachan was relieved of the presidency to which he had been appointed by Sir Peregrine Maitland nine years before, and in 1836 under pressure from Sir John Colborne,

³³The term *currency* was applied to the Halifax pound of four dollars and the shilling valued at twenty cents, the official currency of Canada until the adoption of the decimal system in January 1858. In other words £1,000 sterling equalled £1,250 currency, or \$5,000.

he formally resigned from the Executive Council although he had attended no meetings since November 1835. However, it should not be overlooked that Strachan's advancement in the Church and his labours in the cause of education had been rewarded by the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of St. Andrews in 1829. He had been made Archdeacon of York in 1827, the same year that he became President of King's College.³⁴

In 1837, Sir Francis Bond Head, who had succeeded Colborne as Lieutenant-Governor, prevailed upon the Council of King's College, Strachan being president, to allow the Provincial Legislature to amend the Charter by altering some of the essentially Anglican features, as follows: the members of the College Council should not be required to be members of the Church of England; the president of King's College should in the future not necessarily be a clergyman; and, instead of the Bishop of Quebec being Visitor, the judges of the court of King's Bench in Upper Canada should act in that capacity on behalf of the Crown.³⁵

The Mackenzie rebellion broke out in the latter part of this year, and caused still further delay and for some years suspended further action. Other things complicated matters, such as Lord Durham's Report, the Act of Union of 1840, uniting Upper and Lower Canada into one Province of Canada with one Legislature, and the granting of Royal Charters to Victoria College at Cobourg in 1836 and to Queen's College at Kingston in 1841.

Sir Charles Bagot was appointed Governor-General of

³⁴The following is a transcript (sent by the Secretary of the University of St. Andrews, March 3, 1948) from the minutes of the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews, January 9, 1829: "It was proposed and seconded that the degree of LL.D. be conferred on the Reverend John Strachan, D.D., Archdeacon of York in Upper Canada and President of the University recently established there." On January 18, 1829, according to the minutes, "The meeting unanimously confer the degree of LL.D. on the Revd. John Strachan mentioned in the minutes of 9th of January last; Mr. Duncan to take charge of the Diploma."

³⁵Act to amend the Charter of King's College, March 4, 1837.

Canada on January 12, 1842. Educated at Rugby School and at Christ Church, Oxford, he saw at once the importance of a university in a young country such as Canada and set his heart upon its immediate organization. His first official act was the laying of the corner-stone of the first unit of King's College, one of a comprehensive group of buildings, on St. George's Day, April 23, 1842, with a colourful ceremony in which the Church, the State, leaders of Education, the learned professions, and the military all took part. At the close a salute of nineteen guns was fired by the Royal Artillery, the national anthem was sung, and the assembly was dismissed with Bishop Strachan's blessing. At the banquet held later in the day in the hall of Upper Canada College, the Lord Bishop, in responding to the toast tendered by Dr. McCaul,³⁶ declared that he had looked for this day for forty years, and that the present was the happiest moment of his existence. His feelings were evidently almost too strong for him, and he spoke with an eloquence far beyond that of words.³⁷ The University of King's College actually opened in the former Parliament Buildings³⁸ on Front Street on the eighth of June 1843, the Government having abandoned for the time being the pretentious plans originally proposed. On this occasion inaugural addresses were given by the Lord Bishop, Dr. John McCaul, Chief Justice the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, and Mr. Justice Hagerman.

The short but active existence of the University of King's College is referred to briefly in chapter III. It is sufficient at this point to state that between 1843 and 1847 three University bills were submitted to Parliament, but each in turn

³⁶John McCaul (1807-1886), B.A. Trinity College, Dublin, 1825; headmaster, Upper Canada College, 1839-42; Professor of Classics, King's College, 1842-49, Vice-President 1842-48, President 1848-49; President, University of Toronto, 1850-80.

³⁷University of King's College: *Proceedings at the Ceremony of Laying the Corner Stone* (Toronto, 1843).

³⁸Under the Act of Union of 1840, the capital of the Province of Canada was to be chosen by the Governor-General, Baron Sydenham. He selected Kingston, and the first Parliament of the united Canadas met there on June 14, 1841.

failed to pass. In 1849 the Honourable Robert Baldwin succeeded in passing a new University Act whereby King's College was secularized and all religious tests and teaching were abolished. On the first day of January 1850 it became the University of Toronto.

In 1847 Strachan had ceased to attend the meetings of the King's College Council and formally resigned as President in January 1848. On the fifth of February, Dr. John McCaul was appointed President.

It is not within the scope of this chapter to deal at length with the life of the Founder throughout his Bishopric, nor with all the details leading up to his consecration in 1839. Fifteen years before this the division of the Diocese of Quebec had been considered in order to relieve the Bishop of the responsibility of the western part, that area known as the Province of Upper Canada. Strachan would have been the logical choice as bishop of the new diocese, as he was already the Bishop's Commissary, but difficulties arose regarding the stipend and nothing was done. In 1836 the need of a coadjutor for Bishop Stewart became imperative but Strachan was passed over in favour of the Archdeacon of Lower Canada, the Reverend George Jehoshaphat Mountain. Mountain, as coadjutor, received the title of Bishop of Montreal, and on Bishop Stewart's death the following year succeeded him in the see of Quebec. Still the establishment of the new diocese hung fire, the Home Government, in spite of the strong representations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Colonial Secretary, and the Lieutenant-Governor, refusing to provide the necessary endowment. Strachan protested that the matter of salary was secondary to the spiritual needs of the country and could be held in abeyance until the question of the Clergy Reserves should be settled.³⁹ Strachan's claims to the Bishopric were urged by others. In an article in the

³⁹The *Arthur Papers*, ed. Charles R. Sanderson, Part I (Toronto, 1943), Strachan to Arthur, May 4, 1838. Also quoted by A. N. Bethune: *Memoir of Bishop Strachan*, p. 169.

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Queen's Quarterly, 1928, Professor A. H. Young notes: "His personal friend and fellow-Scotsman, Alexander Macdonell, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston, [in 1835] wrote to the Colonial Office to say that, if an Anglican Diocese in Upper Canada was to be erected, his friend, Dr. Strachan, was the only man in the country fit to receive the appointment."

Finally, on the twenty-seventh of July 1839, Letters Patent were issued by the Crown erecting Upper Canada into a separate Bishopric and appointing the Venerable Archdeacon Strachan the first Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto. Early in the summer Dr. Strachan had proceeded to England and on the fourth of August was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Howley, assisted by the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Nova Scotia.⁴⁰ The Bishop returned home in November and, on the twenty-second of December, was enthroned in his new Cathedral Church, built to replace the former building destroyed by fire the previous January. Early in 1840 the Bishop resigned from the Legislative Council and thus severed his connection with all political matters.

As Bishop, Strachan realized more than ever the great need of more clergy, brought acutely to his notice in his visitations throughout the Diocese. In November 1841 he announced through the columns of *The Church* the appointment of the Reverend A. N. Bethune to be Professor of Theology for the Diocese and the opening of the Diocesan Theological Institution at Cobourg on the tenth day of January following.⁴¹

⁴⁰Strachan continued as Rector of St. James' and Archdeacon of York until 1847 when the matter of the episcopal stipend having been arranged, he appointed the Reverend Henry James Grasett to the Rectorship and the Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune, Archdeacon. Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, February 10 and 25, 1847.

⁴¹*The Church*, November 27, 1841. The inauguration and progress of the Diocesan Theological Institution are dealt with in chapter II.

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

The Bishop's first ordination on April 12, 1840, was almost immediately followed by visitations, first to the western missions in the Niagara and Lake Huron district, followed by one as far eastward as the Ottawa River, practically covering the whole of Upper Canada—hundreds of miles by farmer's cart, by boat or canoe, sometimes even on foot, visiting parishes and outlying missions and establishing new ones, and confirming thousands in their baptismal vows. And this ceaseless activity he persisted in until old age made such labours impossible.

In 1841 and every third year thereafter he summoned his clergy in convocation to discuss diocesan problems. For the meeting of May 1, 1851, he invited them to bring one or two lay members of their respective congregations to participate in their councils. Out of this there evolved the first Diocesan Synod convened anywhere in the British Dominions, the first time in the history of the Church that lay representatives were given legislative power together with the clergy.

Nor should it be forgotten that it was Bishop Strachan who first conceived the idea of a conference of bishops and clergy throughout the Anglican Communion. In his charge to the Synod in 1860 he spoke at length on the subject and was energetically followed by Bishop Lewis at the Synod of the Diocese of Ontario in 1864, with the result that the first Lambeth Conference was held in London in September 1867 shortly before Bishop Strachan's death.

The rapid growth of the Province impelled the Bishop to carry out a plan he had discussed with the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1850 looking towards a division of the unwieldy Diocese of Toronto. In 1857 the western thirteen counties of the Province, comprising forty-three parishes, were set aside as the Diocese of Huron, and four years later forty-six parishes in the eastern district were formed into the Diocese of Ontario.

This was virtually the last of Bishop Strachan's adminis-

trative acts. Notwithstanding the fact that he had now arrived at the age of eighty-four he continued to minister to the immediate needs of his own diocese. In his last letter on his eightieth birthday to his old friend and mentor, Professor Thomas Duncan of Aberdeen, he admitted that "my seeing and hearing are failing but my general health and power of labour wonderful, blessed be God!"⁴²

Before closing this brief memoir of one who for sixty-eight years had been a citizen of this Province, a brief reference might be made to his personal characteristics.

Throughout his life he was blessed with good health and "a constitutional imperturbability" which enabled him to rise superior to his troubles. Courageous himself, he inspired courage in others. His motto, *Caveo sed non timeo*, he translated, in a letter to his friend, Dr. William McMurray, as "*Prudent but Fearless*, but, how far applicable to me I cannot say, perhaps as much as mottoes generally are." His courage and sense of duty were shown on many occasions. Reference has been made to his action in defending the inhabitants of York from pillage when the town was invaded by American troops in April 1813. On one of his episcopal journeys to the mission at Sault Ste Marie it was only possible to reach his destination by water—a long pull in an open row-boat by night. When efforts were made to dissuade him, on account of the rough weather, he replied like the Roman general of old, "It is *not* necessary for me to live, but it *is* necessary for me to go." Throughout the terrible cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834 and the typhus attack of 1847, he worked night and day in the immigrant sheds of Toronto, alongside his friend Bishop Power of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church and ministers of other denominations. He had no fear for himself, for, he said, God was with him. Nor

⁴²Five years previously Strachan had written to Mr. Duncan urging him not to retire. "For my part I shall *never* resign, but labour to the last according to my strength." Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, October 21, 1853.

was his charity confined to his own flock. At the time of the potato famine in Ireland in 1847 he collected and sent to the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin the sum of £318 sterling for relief of the sufferers.

For the young he had ready sympathy and a genuine interest in their affairs and problems; for children he had a real affection and they in turn for him. His friendships were strong and lasting and his loyalty unflinching. Above all he was endowed with a generous portion of sound common sense so essential to one in his position.

His relationships with his clergy were paternal, as befitted a Right Reverend Father in God, and many acts of kindness, of encouragement, and often of financial assistance are disclosed in a perusal of his letter books. Nor did he mince matters if a reprimand was necessary. To Archdeacon Be-thune he wrote, in reference to the Reverend A. B., "who has been an incessant annoyance since his admission to the Church,—he and his wife seem to be Methodist gossips—no greater misfortune can happen to a clergyman than to have a gossipy wife." And to the same A. B. he wrote scolding him severely for his continual complaints, supposed grievances, and attitude to his parishioners. To another he recommended, "Be not too familiar with the members of your congregation—this I remarked when with you—it appears to be your danger and no doubt arises from natural frankness and goodness of heart." Here tact is exemplified as well as acute perception. Regarding another person of some standing he wrote to his rural dean, "The Reverend C. D. is always giving trouble, always impracticable; he represents a sad example of a life uselessly spent and good natural talents wasted."

But when complaints came to him about his clergy it was another matter. A deputation of laymen came to ask for their rector's removal; one complaint was that their pastor was getting old, his discourses prosy and that one sermon

was repeated frequently. "When did he preach it last?" inquired the Bishop. "Last Sunday, my Lord." "What was it about?" None could tell. "What was the text?" Again silence. Then "Go back," said the Bishop, "and ask him to preach it again next Sunday."

On another occasion an obviously trumped-up charge included drinking, and to clinch the matter one of the delegates added, "and he buys it by the bottle, my Lord." "Tut, tut," said the Bishop, "that's a most extravagant way to buy whiskey, I always buy mine by the barrel."

His biographer, the Reverend Canon Henry Scadding, said his sermons were thoughtful and cultivated, invariably solid, full of meaning, never insipid, and always vigorous and to the point.⁴³ And another commented that he was in the strictest sense head and centre of the Church. He moulded its doctrines and directed its energies. *Nil sine Episcopo* was not an abstract theory, but a concrete necessity. The Reverend Edmund Baldwin, Curate of St. James' Cathedral, complained that when he or the Rector, Dean Grasett, both pronounced evangelicals, preached any distinctly evangelical doctrine, the Bishop would say when they reached the vestry, "I will preach next Sunday." Then he was sure to say, with reference to what had been preached the week before, "*That* is what some people think, but *this* is the way the matter is to be understood." And then he would proceed to give the orthodox Anglican doctrine in a way that could not be mistaken.⁴⁴

In Synod, he controlled all the discussions, indeed almost dictated what should be said. On a subject that displeased him, he abruptly called the speaker to order. "But I am in the hands of the Synod, my Lord." "Don't talk nonsense, mahn," said the Bishop, "ye are in *my* hands, sit ye doon, sit ye doon." On another occasion, a venerable clergyman pro-

⁴³The First Bishop of Toronto.

⁴⁴John Langtry, '55, M.A., D.C.L.: *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland* (London, 1892), p. 117.

posed a most elaborate scheme for the establishment of additional archdeaconries (of which the Bishop approved) and above all an assistant or a coadjutor for his Lordship. The Bishop heard him throughout and then settled the matter by the pithy, but angry remark, "Do ye wish to bury a mahn before he is dead?"⁴⁵

It was often a matter of surprise that any deliberative assembly would consent to this autocratic rule, but it is accounted for by the fact that the vast services which the Bishop had rendered the Church were ever present in the minds of the members, a large number of whom had received many personal kindnesses at the Bishop's hands.

In 1866, in his eighty-ninth year, the Bishop consented at last to the election of a coadjutor to relieve him of the more arduous duties of his office. "The weight of years," he said in his address to the Synod on the eighth of August, "and the infirmities they bring move one to announce this decision; for although equal to some duties, still there are others of paramount importance which I am warned not again to attempt." Before the close of the Synod the date for the election was fixed for September 19, 1866, when the clergy and lay representatives of ninety-seven parishes met in Toronto. Following three days of voting, unfortunately marred at times by strong party feeling, and when after eight ballots there was still a deadlock, Provost Whitaker, who had a large majority of the clergy votes throughout the election, but failed by a few votes to carry the laity, withdrew from the contest. On the ninth ballot the Archdeacon of York, the Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune, was elected coadjutor, with the title of Bishop of Niagara. He was consecrated on January 25, 1867, the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. In September he represented the Diocese at the first Pan-Anglican Conference held at Lambeth Palace, returning to Toronto two days after Bishop Strachan's death.

⁴⁵Herbert Symonds, '86, in *The Review*, February 1890.

During the summer of 1867 it had been evident that Bishop Strachan's health was rapidly failing. On Sunday, October the twentieth, he attended his Cathedral Church for the last time. After the service, as if he had a presentiment that he would never be there again, he bade good-bye to all the attendants of the Cathedral, overlooking none. He shook hands with them and prayed that God would bless them. He passed to his eternal rest on the Festival of All Saints, in the ninetieth year of his age and, of his episcopate, the twenty-ninth. He died, as he had hoped to do, "with his hand solely on the helm."

The funeral, which took place on the fifth of November, was an impressive one. By proclamation of the Mayor, business was suspended, stores were closed, and many public buildings draped in mourning. From the Palace to the Cathedral the streets were lined by the military, including the 13th Hussars of Balaclava fame, British regulars stationed at the Fort, and the militia of the city, a fitting honour for one who had been chaplain of the forces in his younger days and for a militant Churchman who throughout his life had fought the good fight for Church and State and Education. All sections of the community were represented. Included were representatives of other churches; the University of Toronto, Victoria College, and Trinity College; the judiciary, the medical and legal professions, and the benevolent societies. Six of his former pupils, the Venerable Archdeacon Fuller of Niagara, the Reverend Dr. William McMurray, the Honourable Vice-Chancellor Spragge, Messrs. William Gamble, F. H. Heward, and John Ridout acted as pall-bearers. The body was laid to rest beneath the Chancel of his Cathedral Church as the choir chanted the anthem, "I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, Write, From henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours."

CHAPTER TWO

THE PREPARATION

ARLY MISSIONARIES of the Church of England in Upper Canada received their training and were, with one or two exceptions, ordained in England. But the available clergy were few and there was little in this country in the eighteenth century to attract men of education and of the necessary physique to endure the rough life, the privations, and the lack of society. Then, too, the annual stipends were small, at the most £150, of which the parish or mission paid £50, frequently less, the Government £100, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel £50.¹

Jacob Mountain, the first Bishop of Quebec (the Diocese then comprised the whole of Upper and Lower Canada), despairing of obtaining missionaries from England, and having no way of training men for the ministry, determined to look about in Canada for men of mature age, with education and experience in this country, who would be suitable both as to character and as to physical fitness. He agreed also to consider any person who might be recommended by men in whose judgment he had confidence. John Strachan was one of these. In writing to Mr. Richard Cartwright in May 1803, the Bishop said, "The testimony contained in your letter of the 3rd instant in favour of Mr. Strachan's character and conduct was, in a peculiar manner, satisfactory to me. He

¹The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and its sister organization, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, both founded about the year 1700, had done noble missionary work in British colonies. Even after the American Revolution, they continued their labours in the former North American colonies.

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appears to be a young man of competent attainments, of fair understanding and great modesty and worth."

Six years later the Bishop wrote to Strachan, "I will receive candidates for Holy Orders educated by you and will give them ordination, provided always that I shall be sufficiently satisfied with their attainments and that there shall be a situation open." But by 1825, the year of Bishop Mountain's death, the total number of clergy in Upper Canada was only twenty-six.

Some years later the Reverend Featherstone Lake Osler, missionary to the townships of Tecumseh and West Gwillimbury from 1837 to 1857, had a parish of 240 square miles and a scattered population, as well as out-stations as far north as Penetanguishene and eastward to Georgina, extending into twenty townships and over 2,000 square miles of country. He appealed to Bishop Strachan for assistance in serving the twenty-eight congregations and Sunday Schools he had organized. Failing in this appeal he obtained a promise from the Bishop that he would ordain any suitable men that Mr. Osler might train for the ministry. He found six promising young men who acted as catechists and took services at various points on Sundays, visited the people within twelve miles of the parsonage during the week, and studied with him in the evenings. Four of these men were ordained and afterwards became prominent in Church life. They were the Reverend William Stewart Darling, ordained 1842, who founded churches at Mono Mills and at Scarborough, and served from 1853 to 1886, the greater part of his ministry, at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto; the Reverend Henry Bath Osler who was stationed at Lloydtown and York Mills and, later, was Canon of the Diocese of Toronto; the Reverend George J. Hill, at Perth; and the Reverend George Bourne, in the Simcoe district.

The Royal Charter for the establishment of King's College was granted in 1827. Although its terms were the most liberal

ever granted by the Crown, its exclusively Anglican tenor immediately aroused political and denominational opposition. It was modified to some extent ten years later, but the Rebellion of 1837 and the resulting unsettled conditions throughout the Province delayed any building until 1842. For the following seven years, the University question was the "football of politics"; no less than three abortive "University bills" (1843, 1845, and 1847) were submitted to the Legislature. Finally by the provisions of the Baldwin Act of 1849,² King's College became the University of Toronto on the first day of January 1850 and all religious tests and teaching were abolished. In the meantime it had become evident that its exclusively Anglican character could not be maintained, and that, to use the Bishop's own words, it would not be safe to rely on King's College as the nursery of the Church. Bishop Strachan, whether he saw the handwriting on the wall or not, realized that a theological college was necessary which would have the full confidence of the Church in the training of young men for the ministry. That he had long had such a college in mind is seen in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec twenty-four years before in which he suggested that the few students supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel might be the nucleus in forming such a seminary.

In the autumn of 1841 Strachan asked his Chaplains, the Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune, Rector of Cobourg, the Reverend Henry James Grasett, Minister³ of St. James' Cathedral, and the Reverend Henry Scadding, then Assistant at the Cathedral,⁴ to draw up a plan by which students of Divinity in the Diocese of Toronto might be given a system-

²The Act, 12 Vic., c. 82, passed both Houses on May 30, 1849.

³Grasett was designated "Minister" from his appointment to St. James' on October 2, 1835, until he succeeded Bishop Strachan as Rector in February 1847.

⁴Alexander Neil Bethune (1800-1879), pupil under Strachan at Cornwall and at York; missionary at Grimsby 1823-26; Minister and later Rector at Cobourg 1827-67; Archdeacon of York 1847-67; consecrated as coadjutor to Bishop Strachan January 25, 1867; succeeded him as Bishop of Toronto, November 1, 1867.

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atic course in Theology before being admitted to Holy Orders, and which at the same time looked towards the formation of a college for the purpose.

On the twenty-seventh of November 1841, the Bishop announced that he had appointed the Reverend A. N. Bethune Professor of Theology in the Diocese of Toronto and that a candidate for Holy Orders would, in future, be required to take a prescribed course of theological study under his direction, after first passing an examination by one of the Bishop's Chaplains as to his competency and suitability. Thus was founded the Diocesan Theological Institution at Cobourg, which opened its doors for the Easter Term on Monday the tenth day of January 1842, with seven students in attendance. This number was increased to seventeen by the following October. By January 1852, when the Institution was transferred to Toronto to become the Faculty of Divinity in the new Trinity College, forty-six students had been admitted to Holy Orders.

At the beginning lectures were held three times a week, but after a time instruction was given daily, except Mondays. The courses included the Greek Testament, the Thirty-nine Articles, Evidences of Christianity, Old Testament History, Liturgics, Church Government, Ecclesiastical History, and the Greek and Latin Fathers. At stated periods each student was required to write a sermon, which was read to the other students and commented on or criticized by the Principal.

The period of residence was three years. Attendance at morning chapel was compulsory, seven o'clock in the summer, half an hour later in the winter, and students were required to wear cap and gown. They instructed in the Sunday

Henry James Grasett (1808-1882), B.A. Cantab. 1831; Minister at St. James', Toronto, 1835-47 and Rector 1847-82; Dean of Toronto 1867-82.

Henry Scadding (1813-1901), pupil under Strachan at the Blue School in York; first student and head boy at Upper Canada College 1829-33; B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, 1837; Classical master, U.C.C., 1838-62; Assistant, St. James', Toronto, 1838-47; first incumbent, Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto, 1847-75.

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

schools, distributed tracts among parishioners, and in addition held services and otherwise assisted the clergy in outlying parishes. This practical experience was most beneficial. These men, with few exceptions, according to Dr. Bethune, "proved themselves amongst the most hard-working and most successful of our clergy."

To assist worthy students, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel granted ten exhibitions or bursaries of the total annual value of £400. These bursaries were further supplemented by four from the Church Society of the Diocese. In March 1842 the Bishop wrote Mr. Bethune: "I can assist three or four of your advanced students by *bona fide* loan (to be repaid) but nothing else."⁵

At the outset the Bishop was determined that men graduating should have sound training. "I am not satisfied," he wrote Dr. Bethune in November 1842, "with the last ordination; we must raise the standard of study for candidates and insist on Latin and Greek and, at least, two years' attendance."⁶ Even graduates from other colleges otherwise academically qualified were required to spend a year under Dr. Bethune.

In his charge to the clergy of the Diocese of Toronto at his triennial visitation on the sixth of June 1844, the Bishop reviewed the work of the previous years:

[The Institution] was, from the first, placed under the sole management of the Rev. Dr. Bethune, and has prospered far beyond my most sanguine expectations. A success which I chiefly attribute to the superior ability and sound discretion with which it has been conducted by its learned and amiable Professor. . . .

And here also we have most thankfully to acknowledge that for the continuance, and indeed we may say for the very existence of this Institution, we are beholden to the unwearied kindness and munificence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That noble and venerable Association has made an annual grant of £500 Sterling towards its support; of which £400 is divided into ten

⁵Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, March 24, 1842.

⁶Ibid., November 24, 1842.

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scholarships, and the remaining hundred enables the Professor to employ an assistant to relieve him from some portion of the duty of his populous and extensive mission. . . .

The Theological Seminary will, it is hoped, in time become the foundation of a still more extensive Institution, to be attached to the Cathedral, as was the custom in former ages, that it may supply the whole Diocese with Clergymen, instead of vacancies, to which it is as yet chiefly confined.

The Diocesan Theological Institution was successful and justified the Bishop's confidence to such an extent that in 1848 he had serious thoughts of having it incorporated. The vexed question of King's College became the subject of prolonged and, at times, acrimonious debate between 1843, when the first lectures were given, and 1849 when the College was secularized by the Baldwin administration. In 1848 Strachan resigned the Presidency of King's College and virtually withdrew from the fight. In writing to a friend about this time he suggested that "now might be a good time to carry through the Act incorporating the Theological Institution at Cobourg with the title of a College or University, say 'Trinity College,' to be located near Toronto."⁷ Thus he was anticipating what actually happened three years later when the University of King's College was secularized and became the University of Toronto.

The indefatigable Bishop lost no time. Although seventy-two years of age he visualized a new Church University. In February 1850 he addressed a strong pastoral appeal to the clergy and laity of his Diocese, and on the tenth of April set out for England to secure a Royal Charter and to appeal for funds in the Mother Country.

During the absence of Bishop Strachan in England, a provisional committee was appointed by friends of the proposed College. The Bishop's pastoral was read at vestry meetings throughout the Diocese and subscription lists were opened. The response on the part of the laity as well as the clergy was

⁷Ibid., June 29, 1847.

prompt and enthusiastic, money and lands being subscribed to the extent of £25,000 by the time the College was opened in January 1852.

On the Bishop's return early in November 1850 he was waited upon by a deputation of leading physicians who had, in the previous summer, organized the Upper Canada School of Medicine. These gentlemen, Doctors Edward M. Hodder,⁸ James Bovell, Francis Badgley, William Hallowell, Norman Bethune, and Henry Melville, proposed that this School should be the Medical Faculty of the new Trinity College if it was the intention to include the sciences and liberal arts in the proposed institution. Knowing the difficulties surrounding such an undertaking, they offered their services gratuitously until the income of the University was sufficient for the maintenance of the Faculty.

The Bishop at once accepted this offer and that there might be no delay suggested that the official opening of the medical school should be held on the seventh of November in the rooms of the Mechanics' Institute then in Court Street. Accordingly at eleven o'clock on that day and before a large audience, the Lord Bishop, assisted by the Reverend H. J. Grasett, Rector of St. James' Cathedral, opened the proceedings with a short service. This was followed by introductory lectures suitably adapted to a mixed audience on subjects which in those days were a closed book to laymen, namely, Anatomy, Obstetrics, Surgery, *Materia Medica*, Medicine, and Medical Jurisprudence. Said *The Church*, in its issue of the fourteenth of November 1850:

⁸Edward Mulberry Hodder (1810-1878), M.D., F.R.C.S., one of the founders of the Upper Canada School of Medicine, afterward the Faculty of Medicine in Trinity University, and, on its reorganization in 1871, Dean of the Trinity Medical School, was a citizen of distinction. A midshipman in the Royal Navy at the age of twelve, he later turned his attention to medicine, in which profession he ranked highly. Coming to Toronto in 1843 he soon acquired a lucrative practice. A born yachtsman, he was the owner of the *Cherokee* and one of the founders of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, of which he was commodore (the third) 1856-59, and again at different periods up to the time of his death. In 1875 he was President of the Canadian Medical Association.

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Seldom if ever, has our Province witnessed a more interesting event. Generations yet unborn will keep that day in remembrance, connected as it is with the first operations of a University founded to counteract the infidel spirit of the age, and to combine the blessings of Science with the far more precious blessings of Christianity.

Regarding the ability displayed by the respective Lecturers, but one opinion can be entertained. Brief and popular as the addresses necessarily were, they furnished the most solid assurance that the teachers of the newly-formed School are fully competent for the effective discharge of the duties which they have undertaken.

The first pressing object of the Bishop and his associates on his return from England was to find a suitable site for the new University. Offers of land had been received from other parts of the Diocese, notably one from Niagara, mentioning a beautiful situation of fifty acres near the town, and one from Cobourg, where for ten years the Theological Institution had been established, and one from Hamilton.

It was finally decided that Toronto, on account of the superior advantages of its central location and its position as the Cathedral city of the Province, and the fact that the greater amount of the subscriptions had come from its citizens, would be the most suitable.

The population of the city of Toronto in 1850 was about 30,000. The boundaries were roughly from the Don River to Bathurst Street, and from the Bay shore to a line arbitrarily drawn four hundred yards north of and parallel to Queen Street, i.e., approximately the line of the present Dundas Street. When considering a site for the proposed College, it was undoubtedly in the mind of Bishop Strachan and his associates to build well beyond the town limits and far from the temptations of city life.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—"that venerable Society, The S.P.G."—had, in addition to a generous donation of £2,000 sterling, given seven and one-half acres of land, worth at least £4,000, from the original Garrison Reserve granted to the Society by the

Crown in 1845. This property sold in 1855 for £9,155 currency (\$36,620). It was in a block not far from the site finally chosen, but south of Queen Street. It was thought by some to be an eligible site, but the Bishop, finding that he could purchase twenty acres with a frontage on Queen Street for £2,000 currency, from Miss Cameron of Gore Vale, displayed the business acumen for which he was noted. Writing to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in 1853 the Bishop said he would be able to sell the property given by that Society to great advantage on account of the increase in land values. Although "too far in the suburbs ever to become a site for business, there is a great mania here for railroads—at present four or five are to centre here."⁹ The purchase of the Cameron property was completed in December 1850 when the Bishop drew on the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for its subscription of £3,000.

The site, the most beautiful and convenient for the purpose that could have been selected, commanded a fine view of the lake and harbour. Canon Henry Scadding, rhapsodizing twenty years later on its sequestered beauty, refers to the brooklet (the Garrison Creek, now long submerged in a sewer), which would hereafter be famous in scholastic song, "the modern Cephissus of a Canadian Academus, the Cherwell of an infant Christ Church"; the "elmy dale which . . . renders so charming the views from the Provost's Lodge"; and the cupola and tower recalling to Oxford men the Tom Gate of Christ Church.¹⁰ And so it seemed in those far-off days.

The site was added to in 1853 by Dr. Alexander Burnside, who to celebrate his seventy-fifth year, executed a conveyance to the College of a piece of land adjoining the College grounds on the west, valued at £2,000.¹¹ This field, of about

⁹Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, Strachan to the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the S.P.G., February 4, 1853.

¹⁰Henry Scadding: *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873).

¹¹In 1853 Dr. Burnside's gift to the College was stated to be £4,000 in cash, £2,000 in land. Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, April 9, 1853.

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four acres, had been used in the previous year as a cricket ground for the College. In making the presentation Dr. Burnside added his gratification at the establishment of a Church University, his sensibility of the privilege of being honoured by the friendship of the Bishop, and the great benefit he had experienced from his spiritual ministrations. Dr. Burnside died on the thirteenth of December 1854, in his seventy-fifth year, and was buried in St. James' Cemetery in a lot adjoining that of the Strachan and Robinson families where an imposing monument marks his last resting place. On Saturday the sixteenth of December, at the request of the Bishop, the Council, Officers, and students attended his funeral.

In 1855 the lot on the southwest corner was purchased by the College from one John Phipps, for £700. In after years it proved to be revenue-producing, the land being leased for stores to be built by various individuals. In June 1882 a further purchase of three and one-half acres, for \$10,500, to the north and west of the Burnside gift, brought the western boundary of the College grounds to Bond (now Crawford) Street.

Early in January 1851 a Provisional Council to direct the affairs of the new College was formed, consisting of the following members: the Honourable James Gordon, the Honourable Vice-Chancellor John Godfrey Spragge, the Honourable Robert Sympson Jameson, the Honourable Mr. Justice Draper, Philip M. M. S. Vankoughnet, Esq., Q.C., and Dr. Edward M. Hodder of the Medical Faculty, all appointed by the Lord Bishop; Dr. Alexander Burnside, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, the Honourable James Buchanan Macaulay, the Reverend Henry James Grasett, John Arnold, Esq., and Lewis Moffatt, Esq., appointed by the subscribers to the College funds. The Trustees were the Reverend H. J. Grasett, George W. Allan, Esq., and Lewis Moffatt, Esq.

The Council held its first meeting on the ninth of January

1851. At this meeting the Lord Bishop received a vote of thanks for his generosity in "defraying out of his own private funds, not only the heavy preliminary expenses incurred in the Province, but also those expenses attendant on an extensive and lengthened trip to Great Britain."

At the meeting of Council held on the twenty-third of January the plans for the College building were discussed. The Bishop, when in England, had been impressed with and had secured the plans for a theological college about to be built near Liverpool—St. Aidan's, Birkenhead—which, he said, appeared to be well adapted for the new Trinity College. The Reverend H. J. Grasett and Captain James M. Strachan were appointed to confer, severally, with the competing architects, Messrs. Cumberland and Ridout, and Mr. Kivas Tully, to determine to what extent these plans could be adapted, and in what manner, to those under preparation. Whether they were worthy of consideration is not stated in the minutes of Council, but three weeks later the architects submitted their plans and on the twentieth of February those of Mr. Tully¹² were chosen. At the same time the tenders of the contractors, Metcalfe, Wilson and Forbes, for the construction at an estimated cost of £7,845 currency (\$31,380) were accepted. On Monday, the seventeenth of March, the first sod was turned by the Lord Bishop in the presence of the College Council, the architect, the contractors, and a few spectators in a brief but impressive ceremony.

After a short preliminary address the Bishop took the spade from the architect and, having filled it with soil, said: "We begin this work in the name of *The Father*, and of *The Son* and of *The Holy Ghost*." He then threw the soil into the barrow. Members of the Council did likewise, the High

¹²Kivas Tully (1820-1905), C.E., I.S.O., born in Queen's County, Ireland, educated at Limerick; came to Canada in 1843; structural engineer and architect of many public buildings; Alderman and Councillor of the City of Toronto in 1852 and 1859; appointed Architect and Engineer of Public Works for the Province of Ontario in 1867; member of St. George's Church and churchwarden 1855, etc. He died on April 24, 1905.

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Sheriff of the County, William Botsford Jarvis, acting as barrowman. After cheers for the Queen, the Bishop, and the College, a short prayer by His Lordship closed the proceedings.

On Wednesday, the thirtieth of April 1851, the corner-stone was laid with fitting ceremonies. At one o'clock a service was held in St. George's Church, John Street, at that time near the outskirts of the city and over a mile from the site of the College. Evening Prayer was sung, with an anthem written by the Reverend Dr. McCaul, President of the University of Toronto, and a sermon by the Venerable Dr. Alexander Neil Bethune, Archdeacon of York. The offertory in aid of the College funds amounted to about forty pounds.

The service being ended, a procession was formed consisting of the Bishop, the Clergy, and the Congregation, which proceeded down John Street and westward along Queen Street to the site of the College, headed by the boys of the St. Paul's Church Grammar School bearing a banner with the challenging and significant motto "Nil sine Episcopo."¹³ The procession, marshalled by Major George Taylor Denison, moved off in the following order:

Beadles

Pupils of Church Grammar School

Principals and Assistants of Church Grammar School

Contractors

Members of the Faculties of
Arts, Medicine, Law and Divinity

The Clergy

¹³This banner now hangs in the College, having been presented on April 8, 1931, by George Allan Mackenzie, '69, and Ernest C. Mackenzie, sons of the headmaster, the Reverend John George Delhoste Mackenzie, Rector of St. Paul's Church, 1845-56, and a graduate of the Theological Institution at Cobourg in 1845. He was the first M.A. of Trinity College. On the occasion of this presentation there were present three scholars of the Grammar School who had witnessed the laying of the corner-stone eighty years before: Elmes Henderson, M.A., and Henry O'Brien, K.C., who carried the banner in 1851, and Beverley Jones, M.A. The Reverend Dr. C. J. S. Bethune, another old boy, was prevented by ill health from attending.

A H I S T O R Y O F T R I N I T Y C O L L E G E

	Yeoman Beadle	
	Church University Board	
Architect	Secretary	Solicitor
	Students in Medicine	
	Students in Divinity	
	Professors	
	Council	
	Bishop's Chaplain	
The Venerable Archdeacon of Kingston	Verger	The Venerable Archdeacon of York
	The Lord Bishop	
	Contributors and friends to the College on foot	
	Contributors and friends to the College in carriages	

Melville's *Rise and Progress of Trinity College* describes the scene: "On the way to the grounds, several of the gentry in carriages accompanied the procession and the footways were crowded with pedestrians. The scene was gay and animating in the extreme . . . the day proved as auspicious as could well be desired, and the sun shone brightly during the whole of the solemn proceedings."¹⁴

When all were assembled, amounting to several thousand persons, the Lord Bishop in a short address recalled the auspicious occasion, just nine years before, when the cornerstone of King's College was laid with high hopes and great promise—those hopes to be shattered by political foes and lukewarm friends and to result in the complete secularization of that institution. On this day they were again to commence the foundation of a seminary where religion and education would once more be joined hand in hand.

This portion of the ceremony was followed by a dedicatory prayer after which a bottle containing coins and documents to be deposited in the stone was handed to the Bishop by Dr. Alexander Burnside while the Chief Justice, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, read the Latin inscription on the

¹⁴Henry Melville, M.D.: *The Rise and Progress of Trinity College, Toronto* (Toronto 1852).

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brass plate to be cemented on the stone. The inscription had been composed by the Reverend Henry Scadding, of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto, and Chaplain to his Lordship.¹⁵

The architect, Kivas Tully, then handed the trowel to the Bishop who having struck the stone three times with the mallet said: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. I lay this corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected by the name of Trinity College, to be a place of sound learning and religious education in accordance with the principles and usages of the United Church of England and Ireland. Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed for evermore; and in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Amen."

The trowel used bore the following inscription:

Presented to the Honourable and Right Reverend
John Strachan, D.D., LL.D.,
on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of
Trinity College, the Church University
April 30, 1851, by Kivas Tully, architect.

The trowel was of solid silver, fashioned in the shape of a maple leaf. On the handle were engraved the words, "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men."¹⁶

Then followed addresses by Sir Allan Napier MacNab and Master John Bethune (representing the scholars of St. Paul's School), whose speech in Latin was responded to by the

¹⁵This brass plate is now in the main entrance of the College on the right-hand wall. Mr. T. E. Champion, in the Jubilee number of *The Review*, June 1902, pointed out that of all those whose names were inscribed thereon, only one, Kivas Tully the architect, lived to see the fiftieth anniversary.

¹⁶The trowel was used again for the various additions to the old College, and St. Hilda's College, and at the laying of the foundation stone of the buildings in Queen's Park on June 4, 1923, and subsequent additions. It was given by Mrs. James McGill Strachan to Professor Jones to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment to the chair of Mathematics (1889) and after his death it became the property of Trinity College. It had been designed by Frederick W. Cumberland who submitted plans for the College in competition with Kivas Tully.

Bishop in the same tongue; the Venerable Archdeacon Bethune recited the Bidding Prayer and the proceedings were brought to a close by collects recited by the Reverend H. J. Grasett, the singing of the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Benediction pronounced by the Lord Bishop.

The important matter of the appointment of the staff for the College engaged the attention of the Bishop soon after his return from England. In February 1851 he wrote to the Trinity College Committee in London setting forth his views. This Committee was composed of the following prominent Churchmen: the Reverend John Jackson, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, Chaplain-in-ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen (Lord Bishop of London, 1869-85); the Reverend Charles B. Dalton, M.A., Rector of Lambeth and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London; the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, M.A., Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1843-65 (a warm friend and supporter of Bishop Strachan in all his undertakings) and the Reverend Henry McKenzie, M.A., Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (afterwards Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham), who was also treasurer of the funds for Trinity collected in England.

The initial requirements were a Provost, who was to receive a salary of £400 sterling and a residence in the College buildings, and two Professors at a salary for each of £200 sterling and rooms in the College. "We are anxious," said the Bishop, "that the three belong to neither extreme of the Church, but that they should be true sons of the Church of England, not low, or what is called Evangelical, but equally distant from Romanism on the one hand and Dissent on the other."¹⁷

Later in the year there were appointed the Reverend George Whitaker, M.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, as

¹⁷Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book (to the Societies), February 16, 1851; copy in Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, November 10, 1851.

THE PREPARATION

Provost and Professor of Divinity; the Reverend Edward St. John Parry, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, Professor of Classics;¹⁸ and the Reverend George Clerk Irving, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, Professor of Mathematics.¹⁹ They arrived in Toronto early in November 1851 to assume their duties in Trinity College.

Work on the erection of the building proceeded apace during 1851, and there were high hopes that it might be ready for the opening of the College for the Michaelmas Term. On the fifth of April 1851, William B. Leather was, on the recommendation of Kivas Tully the architect, appointed clerk of works at a salary of £75 per annum from the fifteenth of March instant.²⁰ But the inevitable delays contingent upon such a structure resulted in postponement until the following January. Even then the building was far from complete, but it was felt it would be sufficiently advanced to allow for the formal opening on the fifteenth of January 1852. Only the eastern part of the main front was then finished. At eleven o'clock on the morning of that day the service of Morning Prayer was held in the temporary chapel, a room over the middle entrance, afterwards used as the Library. There was insufficient accommodation for the many friends and benefactors of the College who thronged the halls and stairways. Prayers were said by the Provost, the Reverend George Whitaker, the Lessons were read by the recently

¹⁸Edward St. John Parry (1825-1896), educated at Balliol College, Oxford, first-class honours in Classics; Professor of Classics, Trinity College, 1852-55; headmaster of Leamington School 1855, and afterwards head of a successful preparatory school for boys at Slough, near Windsor, England. He died at Godalming, Surrey, September 15, 1896.

¹⁹George Clerk Irving, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, Eighth Wrangler in Mathematics; Professor of Mathematics, Trinity College, 1852-56, 1862-63; Vice-Provost 1862-64.

²⁰His initials, W. B. L., carved in Old English characters, may be seen over the western entrance of the old building, as the architect's, K. T., are over a similar doorway on the east side. William B. Leather (1802-1907) was for a time in partnership with Sandford Fleming (later knighted), the originator of standard time (*Toronto Directory*, 1850). See also *The Review*, March 1907.

appointed Professors, the Reverend Edward St. John Parry, and the Reverend George Clerk Irving. The choirs of the Church of the Holy Trinity and St. James' Cathedral provided the musical part of the service, of which the singing of the *Jubilate* and the anthem, *Lord of All Power and Might* (from the Collect for the seventh Sunday after Trinity), seem to have been most impressive. At the conclusion the congregation proceeded to the entrance hall which had been fitted up for the occasion. On the dais at the north end sat the Bishop, with the Council of the College, the Provost and the Professors, the College officials, and the attendant clergy, all in their canonicals, academicals, or robes of office. The weather was not propitious, it being severely cold; nevertheless many ladies were present.

The first part of the ceremony was the admission of students, of whom there were thirty, including those from the Diocesan Theological Institution at Cobourg who had not completed the Divinity course there. Twenty-one students matriculated, all signing the declaration of obedience to the rules of the College, those proceeding to the Divinity course subscribing also to the Thirty-nine Articles.

The Lord Bishop then addressed the meeting, tracing the history of the movement from the laying of the corner-stone of King's College in 1842 and in detail from its secularization in 1850 down to the present. He was followed by the Chief Justice, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, one of the Bishop's first pupils at Cornwall and presently to be Chancellor of this University of Trinity College. The proceedings were closed with a short address by the Provost.²¹

The Charter, dated the sixteenth of July 1852, arrived in due course. The Bishop, writing to the Secretary of the S.P.G. on the eighth of September, said: "We have received

²¹A full account of the Ceremony of Inauguration, from which these paragraphs have been taken, will be found in Melville: *Rise and Progress of Trinity College*.

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the Charter. The heat has melted the seal but I believe it is of little consequence as a fragment remains.”²²

The Royal Charter, supplementing the Act of the Legislature of Canada incorporating Trinity College passed on the second day of August 1851,²³ ordained that the said College “shall be a University and have and enjoy all such and the like privileges as are enjoyed by our Universities of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,” and, “There shall be at all times a Chancellor of the said University to be chosen under the rules and regulations of the College Council.” On the third of June 1853, the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, was installed as the first Chancellor of the University of Trinity College, a position he filled with conspicuous dignity until his death on the thirtieth of January 1863.²⁴

²²Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book (to the Societies), September 8, 1852.

²³The Act of Incorporation did not pass without considerable opposition, chiefly from the Honourable P.B. de Blaqui  re, M.L.C., at that time Chancellor of the newly formed University of Toronto, and in the Assembly from W. L. Mackenzie. *Toronto Globe*, July 8, 1851.

²⁴John Beverley Robinson (1791-1863), educated at Strachan’s Cornwall school 1803-7; lieutenant and captain, York Militia, War of 1812 (at Detroit, Queenston Heights, York, etc.); Attorney-General of Upper Canada 1818-30; Chief Justice 1830-62. D.C.L. Oxon. 1855, C.B. 1850, Baronet of the United Kingdom 1854.

THE EARLY DAYS: 1852-1867

TIS DIFFICULT in this day and age to picture the opening of Trinity College one hundred years ago. The unfinished building, inadequately heated with open fire-places and stoves of a primitive character, the unimproved surroundings and uncultivated fields, the distance from the city and friends, would all contribute to discomfort and disappointment; to say nothing of the Canadian winter, austere, bleak, and often intensely cold.

A student in Divinity, who had come up from the Theological Institution at Cobourg in 1852, wrote as follows fifty years later.¹

We had come from a small town where we had been thought persons of some consequence to the Church and to society, and were very much our own masters. It was no small trial to us to be brought under strict domestic—almost monastic—discipline; to be put into a new and imperfectly warmed building in the dead of winter, and to be subjected to precise rules as to chapel and meals, and going-out and coming-in, and generally to more or less restriction of our liberty. The steward was decidedly crusty and sometimes tyrannical; spoke of us as the *men* when we thought he should have said the *gentlemen*.

While there was no restriction upon our going into the city we had to be back by the time the doors were locked which was done before evening chapel. But we were not permitted to go out of the grounds without wearing the academic cap and gown, which in winter time was often a trying experience.

The Debating Society, which came organized from Cobourg, languished and flourished with alternations of lassitude and vigour. Then the Union was formed, moderately successful for a time and then

¹*The Review*, Jubilee number, June 1902.

THE EARLY DAYS

in 1854 both societies merged in the Trinity College Literary Institute which has run a successful course for forty-eight years.

We had our Chess Club presided over by that most able and genial of men, Professor G. C. Irving. Among the students, sixteen of whom came into residence in that memorable January 1852, was Tom Phillipps, *facile princeps* at chess and whist and mathematical exercises —there never was a better all-round cricketer; others, the grandsires—the patriarchs of Trinity, John Langtry, Francis Tremayne, James Bogert, W. E. Cooper, C. E. Thomson, Alexander Williams, A. J. Broughall, H. W. Davies, Edward W. Beaven, all to become prominent in later years in Church affairs.

It is not clear when the building was actually finished, but there must have been many exasperating delays. According to the Minute Book, as late as May 1852 the architect was summoned before the Council to explain why he had provided neither bedrooms nor bathroom in the Provost's house or "Lodge," the suite of five rooms in the southwest corner of the building. In June of the same year a leakage was discovered around the turrets and a letter was sent to the contractors threatening the withholding of future payments until this was rectified. Insufficient heating, smoky fireplaces, faulty drainage, and inadequate water supply were among other trials experienced by students and faculty alike.

In the first eight years of the College progress was slow, the total number of matriculants in that period being 145 or an average of eighteen annually. But a large proportion of these became prominent in after life. In addition to those mentioned above, there were Charles Walker Robinson, son of the Chancellor, later a Major-General and a C.B., and author of a biography of his illustrious father; Maurice Scollard Baldwin, Bishop of Huron 1883-1902, and his brother Arthur Henry, Rector of All Saints', Toronto, 1872-1908; Archibald Lampman, father of the poet who also became a graduate five-and-twenty years later; J. A. Ardagh, Judge of the County of Simcoe; John D'Arcy Cayley, Rector of St. George's Church, Toronto; William Jones, B.A. Cantab.,

who returned to Trinity and during a busy life filled the chair of Mathematics, the position of Dean and the offices of Bursar and Registrar; James and Elmes Henderson, lifelong benefactors of the College; Sir John Hawkins Hagarty, K.C.M.G., D.C.L., and Chief Justice of Ontario; Dr. Charles J. S. Bethune, for thirty years the distinguished head of Trinity College School; Archibald G. L. Trew, who attained high position in the American Episcopal Church, and a D.D. from Trinity (*jure dignitatis*) in 1889; and many others.

One other name, however, deserves special mention. John George Bourinot entered Trinity in 1854 and was soon recognized as a man of intellectual ability. He was forced to leave the College during his final year for financial reasons, and was unable to write for his degree. Obtaining a position on the *Toronto Leader*, he showed a flair for journalism in editorials of a high order. He founded and was for some years editor of the *Halifax Reporter*. Shortly after Confederation he was appointed shorthand writer to the Senate and after a series of promotions became Clerk of the House of Commons in 1880. An authority on parliamentary procedure, his works on that subject and *How Canada is Governed* and *Canada under British Rule* established him as an author of the first rank. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society of Canada and its first Secretary in 1882, its President in 1892. Trinity granted him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in 1889, an example followed by King's (N.S.), Laval, Bishop's, and Queen's. His services to the Empire were recognized by a C.M.G. in 1892 and K.C.M.G. six years later. A member of Corporation, he retained his interest in Trinity until his death in 1902.

The matriculation requirements in the Faculty of Arts were not exacting. Applicants were examined in Scripture History and in the Greek Testament; in Latin and Greek Authors, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Books I and II of Euclid. This would presuppose grammar school or high school train-

JOHN STRACHAN ABOUT 1827

From a portrait in the Provost's Office

JOHN STRACHAN 1865, A.E.T. 87

From the portrait by G. T. Berthon (*Courtesy of Miss Berthon*)





FUNERAL PROCESSION OF BISHOP STRACHAN

November 5, 1867, passing the corner of King and Yonge Streets. See page 31



THE DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION

AT COBOURG 1842-1852

THE REVEREND A. N. BETHUNE

Principal, Diocesan Theological
Institution, Cobourg

THE BANNER OF ST. PAUL'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Carried at the laying of the corner-stone in April 1851, presented to the College eighty years later by George Allan MacKenzie, '69, and his brother, Ernest C. MacKenzie. Three old boys of the school were present on both occasions: Henry O'Brien, k.c., and Elmes Henderson, '61, who carried the banner, and Beverley Jones, '60, who is seated here. See page 43





PROVOST GEORGE WHITAKER

From the portrait by Robert Harris in Strachan Hall

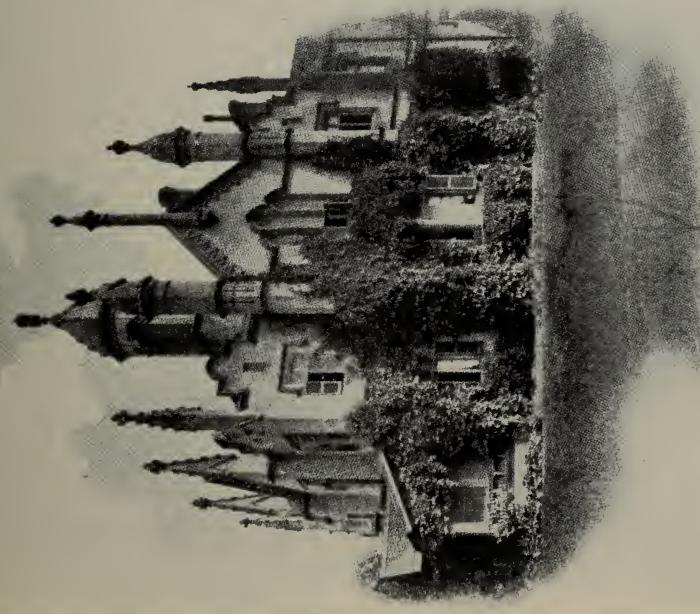
TRINITY COLLEGE 1852



THE TERRACE



THE ORIGINAL PROVOST'S LODGE AT OLD TRINITY





CONVOCATION HALL 1877-1925

THE LIBRARY 1884-1925

ing. But admission could be obtained on the certificate of a principal from other collegiate institutions, and "terms" would be allowed in cases where residence requirements and examinations were similar to those of Trinity.

In Divinity, a student was required to be a graduate in Arts of Trinity or of some other university, or, being of the full age of twenty-one years and having been examined by the Provost and professors in Greek, New Testament, Scripture, the Church Catechism, and one Latin and one Greek author of his own choosing (Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Livy; Homer, Euripides, Xenophon, or Herodotus) could be recommended by the rector of his parish, and approved by a bishop. All students on entrance were required to sign a declaration of obedience to the College, but only Divinity students subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion as appended to the Book of Common Prayer. Graduates in Arts of other universities were obliged to supply certificates of good conduct. Students who entered in January 1852 were allowed the previous Michaelmas Term as a "grace term," so that it might count as one of the nine terms required to be kept before proceeding to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.²

The Arts course consisted of three years, or nine complete terms, the college years commencing early in October and ending on July the first following. The three terms were Michaelmas: October 10 to December 29; Lent: January 10 to the second Saturday before Easter; Easter: Saturday after Easter to July 1. At the end of the course and having satisfactorily passed the necessary examinations, a student might proceed to the Master of Arts degree.

According to the first printed calendar (1854-55) there were two examinations in Arts: the previous examination at the end of the Lent Term (March) in the second year; the final examination at the end of the third year. For the "previous" the subjects for examination were an historical book

²Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, June 3, 1854.

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of the New Testament, Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, the Church Catechism, a Latin and a Greek author, Latin Prose, Algebra, Trigonometry, and Euclid. For the final examination, the subjects were Old and New Testament History, another historical book of the New Testament, two Greek and two Latin authors, Greek and Roman History, Latin Composition, and Mechanics and Hydrostatics in addition to Euclid and Algebra and Trigonometry.

The Divinity course consisted of two years or six complete terms. The studies embraced a book of the New Testament in Greek, Scripture History, Paley's *Horae Paulinae*, Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, Book X, and Proctor's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*. It will be seen then that the subjects taught both in Arts and in Divinity gave a comprehensive and thorough education and one in no way inferior to the courses given at other institutions.

The general regulations covering discipline required the wearing of the cap and gown at Chapel, in Hall, and at lectures as well as in public. A surplice was to be worn in Chapel "at appointed times," i.e., on Sundays, Holy Days and their Eves, and attendance at daily Mattins and Evensong was insisted upon. (A regular attendance at Chapel and lectures was indispensable in the "keeping of terms."³) There were also strict rules as to hours of meals and of going-out and coming-in, matters more or less irksome to those who had come up from Cobourg where the students were treated as men and were pretty much on their own.

³A chance discovery about the turn of the century bore testimony to the fact that absence from chapel was a punishable offence. On turning out an old desk, formerly belonging to the first Provost, some dusty papers were found that gave mute evidence as to the penalty imposed. Apparently the offenders (nine of them) were required to write out the whole service, which they had missed, including the psalms and the lessons for the day. In more recent years a dean, much beloved and noted for his leniency, on finding students deficient in two or three chapels, would call the said student (or students) into his office and thereupon read the *whole* of Mattins, or Evensong, the number of times necessary to comply with the regulations.

THE EARLY DAYS

The Provost was required to live in the College, to see that statutes, rules, and regulations were faithfully observed and to enforce discipline, but in addition the Professors had power to punish students by imposition of a fine or by confinement to the College grounds.

The Provost's report for the first complete academical year, 1852-53, gives the following information: Morning Prayer was said at 9 a.m., on Holy Days at 11 a.m., Evening Prayer at 9:30 p.m. Services on Sundays were at 11 a.m. and 3:30 p.m., and these were attended also by many families in the district. Lectures in Divinity, Mathematics, and Classics were given daily from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., except on Holy Days.

The enrolment in October 1852 consisted of thirteen men in Divinity, eighteen in Arts, and five in Medicine. (Five Divinity students had left in June 1852 having completed the course begun at Cobourg.) Of resident students there were twenty-two; thirteen occasional students attended the classes in Medicine and twenty-five those in Law.

Among early benefactions to Trinity were the foundation scholarships, notably the Wellington, the Jubilee (S.P.G.), the Bishop Strachan, and the Burnside.

In April 1844 the first Duke of Wellington wrote to the Honourable (afterwards Sir) John Beverley Robinson to the effect that some years before he had subscribed for twenty-five shares in the first Welland Canal, at a critical period of its fortunes. He now wished to dispose of these shares, then valued at £500, and apply the proceeds in some way serviceable to the Province of Canada, or any district thereof, and asked Mr. Robinson's advice. It was finally agreed that a scholarship in King's College, Toronto, bearing the name of its illustrious donor would best serve his purpose, with the proviso that, should King's College cease to have any connection with the Church of England, the funds should be transferred to some other Anglican institution. When, there-

fore, all connection of the University of Toronto with religious teaching and the Church of England ceased, and Trinity College had been established, the accumulated funds, amounting to over £1,100 sterling, were transferred to Trinity College.⁴

The Wellington Scholarships have been awarded annually by Trinity College since 1854. One of the first holders at King's College was Christopher Robinson (a son of the first Chancellor of Trinity College, the Honourable John Beverley Robinson). He graduated B.A. in 1846 (Trinity College, *ad eundem*, '53), and became in 1902 the fourth Chancellor of Trinity.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, donated in 1851 the sum of £1,000 sterling for scholarships to be known for all time as the S.P.G. Jubilee Scholarships.

The Bishop Strachan Scholarship was established by friends of the Founder in 1853, on the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination in 1803, the amount of £532.5.0 being subscribed in six hours.⁵ It was called the Bishop Strachan Jubilee Scholarship at first, but the word "Jubilee" was afterwards dropped to avoid confusion with the name of the S.P.G. scholarship mentioned above.

Dr. Alexander Burnside, a close friend of Bishop Strachan, is described by Canon Henry Scadding as "a New-England medical man of . . . bluff, benevolent countenance, an early promoter of the Mechanics'-Institute movement, and an encourager of church-music, vocal and instrumental. . . . He bequeathed his property partly to Charities in the town, and partly to the University of Trinity College, where two scholarships perpetuate his memory."⁶

⁴C. W. Robinson: *Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1904).

⁵Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, June 2, 1853.

⁶Henry Scadding: *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873). See also chapter II, *supra*, p. 40 in reference to Dr. Burnside's benefactions.

THE EARLY DAYS

It will be recalled that early in the history of the College a Faculty of Medicine was formed by the inclusion of the new Upper Canada School of Medicine.⁷ The founders of this Faculty were not only leaders in their profession, but were devout Churchmen inspired by Bishop Strachan's heroic endeavours to establish a Church University. It had a distinctly brilliant group of men on its teaching staff who had the support of social Toronto and later became the controlling influence in the Toronto General Hospital of those days. With the abolition of the Medical Faculty of the University of Toronto (formerly King's College) by the Hincks bill of 1853, several of its most efficient members were attracted to Trinity and the future of the Trinity Medical Faculty seemed assured.

But it is evident from the Minute Book of the College that from the first there had been friction between the Faculty and the Council. Instructions of the latter were ignored, expenditures were made without authority, and unauthorized advertisements of the medical courses were inserted in the press by the Dean, the saintly Dr. James Bovell. No doubt men of the calibre of Dr. Bovell and his colleagues, Doctors Hodder, Badgley, Bethune, and Melville, would find these restrictions irksome, particularly as their time and services were freely given for the good of the University.

In 1855 a movement for the repeal of the Hincks bill was initiated and indeed discussed in the Legislature. This would have meant the revival of the former King's College Medical Faculty as the medical school of the University of Toronto and would have been a direct threat to the existence of the Trinity medical school. The Trinity men, taking alarm at this move, were influential in getting the repeal shelved, but in their excitement and haste they so far forgot their position as to open negotiations with the Government on their own account and not through their masters, the Trinity College

⁷See chapter II, *supra*, p. 38.

Council. For this they were compelled to apologize and while they were forgiven, apparently they could not themselves forgive. Shortly afterwards another unauthorized advertisement appeared, another reprimand and ultimatum resulted, the entire Faculty resigned, and the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Trinity College ceased to function from that date, the second of July 1856.

The resignation, signed by Doctors Hodder, Bovell, Bethune, Badgley, Hallowell, and Russell, stated in no uncertain terms the conviction that as all their endeavours to advance the interest of Trinity College met with repeated rebuffs, they could no longer work harmoniously with the Council. In anticipation, it might be here stated that in 1871 the Trinity Medical Faculty was re-established as the Trinity Medical School on a broad and liberal basis, with Dr. Edward M. Hodder, F.R.C.S., as Dean.⁸

In the minutes of the twenty-sixth of January 1854, we find instructions that bars should be placed on the windows of the basement and ground floor, apparently for protection from without. But this did not prevent numerous escapades, then and later, of unlawful egress to dances, the theatre, and other nocturnal social pleasures. As the fifties passed so, too, did the seniors and the influence and example of the more serious-minded who had come up from Cobourg were missed.

In 1858, according to the Minute Book of the College, there would seem to have been in residence some turbulent spirits who, forgetting the character of the College, had created a disgraceful disturbance on the night of Thursday, the twenty-ninth of April. "None, who are desirous of maintaining their own reputation as gentlemen . . . ,” reads the minute, “will ever condescend to participate in such indecent irregularities. The Council will not hesitate to adopt the most stringent measures for the punishment of the perpetrators should they occur hereafter.” The precise nature of the irregularities was not stated.

⁸See chapter iv, *infra*, p. 76.

At the same meeting of the College Council sentence of rustication was imposed on a gentleman, then completing his final year, for grossly irreverent behaviour throughout the evening service in Chapel, rude and disorderly conduct towards the professors during dinner, and a deliberate refusal to attend the prescribed lectures in defiance of his father's remonstrances as well as of the rules of the College. A proper apology not forthcoming, the student never obtained his degree. He lived, however, to a good old age, a highly respected citizen in the community, and rendered distinguished service in many spheres.

Fortunately such occurrences seem to have been few and probably are merely an indication of the high spirits which occasionally get out of bounds when restricted by arbitrary authority. A pleasanter side was a presentation in 1857 to W. P. Atkinson and E. W. Beaven as leaders of the College Choir.

The College, which had started out under such favourable auspices, was not without its vicissitudes in the first decade of its existence. Dr. William Jones, who was a student and a member of the staff over a period of nearly half a century, refers to these in his article "Early Days at Trinity," which appeared at the time of the Jubilee in 1902.⁹ "The entry of October 1855 was twenty students and the total number residing in College during 1855-6 was forty-six, both of which numbers were the largest up to that date, and indeed for many subsequent years." The serious financial crisis which began in 1857, coupled with the abolition of the medical department, had a detrimental effect on the enrolment, and the number of students for some years was considerably reduced. For an institution with a small endowment and largely dependent on the fees of students this was a serious matter. Then there was a lack of support from the western portion of the Diocese even before it was set aside in 1857 as the Diocese of Huron under Dr. Benjamin Cronyn, its first

⁹*The Review, Jubilee number, June 1902.*

Bishop. Cronyn had been opposed to Trinity from the beginning and his extreme evangelical views had little in common with the views of the promoters and supporters of Trinity.

Furthermore, there were many changes in the staff during the first ten years which would necessarily have an unsettling effect on College routine. In 1855 the Professor of Classics, Mr. Parry, after a short three-year term, resigned on account of bad health and returned to England. Until his successor was appointed, the Reverend A. J. Broughall, a graduate in Classics in 1855, was appointed Lecturer.¹⁰ At Easter 1856, the Reverend John Ambery, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, was appointed, but two years later accepted the position of classical master in the Toronto Grammar School. He was succeeded in 1859 by the Reverend Edwin Hatch, M.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, destined to become famous as an eminent theologian and scholar. His tenure, too, was brief, his theological opinions being so widely at variance with those of the College authorities that dissensions arose and after a stormy incumbency he resigned in 1862.¹¹ Then Mr. Ambery returned to Trinity in 1863 as Professor of Classics and Dean of Residence, holding the dual position until 1875.

¹⁰ Abraham James Broughall (1832-1917), '55, D.D. (*honoris causa*) '04. In his youth a student at Victoria College, Cobourg, where he attained high standing in Classics, he came under the influence of Archdeacon Bethune and entered Trinity College in 1852. He graduated with high honours and was ordained deacon in 1857, priest 1858. After two curacies he became Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Toronto, in 1861, a position he held for over fifty years.

¹¹ Edwin Hatch (1835-1889), scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford, second class in Classics, and Ellerton Prize; M.A. 1857. After his resignation he was, for five years, Rector of Morin College, Quebec. In 1867 he returned to England and became Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, a position he held until 1885. He gave the Bampton Lectures in 1880; these were later translated into German by Harnack, the eminent German theologian. His monumental work is *A Concordance of the Septuagint*, edited in collaboration with Henry A. Redpath, M.A. The degree of D.D. (*honoris causa*) was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh in 1883. While his fame rests upon his theological works, his familiar hymn, *Breathe on me, Breath of God*, will be found in many hymnals.

THE EARLY DAYS

In the chair of Mathematics, Professor Irving was obliged to resign on account of ill health in 1856, his place being filled by the appointment in October of that year of the Reverend Edward Kay Kendall, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. On the latter's retirement in 1862, Professor Irving was induced to return to the College as Professor of Mathematics and Vice-Provost, but ill health compelled his resignation in October 1863. Mr. Irving relieved the Provost of many administrative details and occupied the Provost's residence at the southwest corner of the building, the Provost's Lodge to the north of the College having been completed about that time at a cost of \$5,300.

A plan whereby certain men of mature age might study extramurally and be admitted to the Arts examinations was proposed and took effect on the opening of the Michaelmas Term in 1860. The requirements were that the applicant must be over twenty-five years of age and a member of the Church of England; he was to present a certificate of character and attainments if his professional duties excluded the possibility of his attendance at lectures, and was required to pass the several preliminary examinations (the matriculation, the previous, and the final) for the Bachelor of Arts degree. That the plan was not a success would seem to be indicated by the fact that there was no material increase in the enrolment for more than two decades.

On the twelfth of June 1860, Bishop Strachan in his charge to the Synod of his Diocese said: "Looking at the progress of the Church throughout a vista of sixty years, I feel it most encouraging and more especially because I can witness to its continued peace and moderation." Peace and moderation!

On the following day, June the thirteenth, at the annual meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Huron, the Reverend Adam Townley, D.D., Rector of Paris, Ontario, made the following motion, seconded by his lay delegate Mr. Ryall:

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

That seeing it is greatly to be desired that the Canadian Church should unite in the upholding of one University, thereby ensuring for it a high literary character and extensive religious and Church influence, this Synod respectfully requests the Lord Bishop to adopt such means, as in his wisdom he may see good, as shall tend to secure the hearty co-operation of all Churchmen in support of Trinity College, Toronto, which, through the energy of the Bishop of Toronto and the liberality of Churchmen here and at home, has been for some years in successful operation, and with the high honour of possessing a Royal Charter.

Before putting the motion Bishop Cronyn said he could not do so without first expressing an opinion; he did not agree with Mr. Townley and he objected to the teachings of Trinity College. During the past years he had taken pains to inform himself of the teaching and, he added, he would not send a son of his to be educated there. Further, he said, a statute recently enacted gave the Chancellor absolute power to suppress any complaints against the College. When Mr. Townley realized his Bishop's attitude towards Trinity he asked permission to withdraw his resolution. This was refused and on the motion being put it was lost on a large negative vote.

The first intimation the Trinity authorities had of the accusations was through the columns of the daily press and the controversy thus precipitated went on for over three years. But the origin of the controversy can be found many years before.

Benjamim Cronyn, a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, where he had a distinguished career, was ordained deacon in 1825 and priest in 1827 by the Archbishop of Tuam in whose diocese he served for nearly six years. Coming to Upper Canada in 1832, he did considerable missionary work in the undeveloped western part of the Province and was appointed to the mission of London, then a small village of 400 people. Soon after his appointment he was made rural dean of all the territory west-

ward to the St. Clair River. Cronyn had the reputation of being energetic, earnest, and philanthropic but he was also, imbued with "the militant Protestantism of Irish Churchmanship, the unbending champion of the strictest kind of evangelicalism," and as such leaned strongly towards Calvinistic doctrine.¹² By 1857 he had been able to secure the appointment of Irishmen of his way of thinking to the majority of the parishes included in the new Diocese of Huron.

To Bishop Strachan he was a thorn in the flesh for many years. In a letter to his friend the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1851 the Bishop said: "Mr. Cronyn has been the focus of all the agitations against the Society's plans and me for supporting peace and order among the clergy of that [the Western] section. Moreover, he did all he could to oppose Trinity College and to bolster up Toronto University and prevented those over whom he had any influence from subscribing to its funds." Even then Strachan feared his appointment as Bishop of Huron, for, said he, "he is a low Churchman and better fitted for a political agitator than a Bishop."¹³ On the ninth of July 1857, Cronyn was elected Bishop of Huron over Archdeacon Bethune by a majority of two clerical and fourteen lay votes.

It was Bishop Strachan's idea that Trinity should be the Church University for the whole of Canada West (Ontario). The passive and, later, active resistance of Cronyn was a grievous disappointment to him. The Charter of Trinity College provided that the bishop of any diocese carved out of the original Diocese of Toronto, became, by virtue of his office, a member of the Corporation of Trinity College. Under

¹²Henry J. Morgan: *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862). The Reverend R. T. Appleyard, M.A., B.D., "The Origins of Huron College," MS. thesis, Library of the University of Western Ontario.

¹³Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book (to the Societies), Strachan to Hawkins, June 6, 1851.

the revised statutes (February 12, 1859), the Corporation consisted of the three Bishops of Canada West: Toronto, Huron, and Ontario (when elected),¹⁴ the Trustees of the College, the Chancellor, the Provost and the two senior Professors (all *ex officio*), and twenty-six Councillors, eleven to be elected by the Corporation of Trinity College, five to be appointed by the Bishop of Toronto, five by the Bishop of Huron, and five by the Bishop of the new Diocese of Ontario, when established.

This revision provided also that all proposals for the removal of a Provost or a Professor must be submitted to the Chancellor upon a request in writing signed by at least five of the Councillors. It was this last proviso that the Bishop of Huron objected to, arguing that it gave a Bishop no power to interfere in the teaching of the College and vested the supreme power in the Chancellor. In the report of Corporation of the twenty-ninth of June 1860,¹⁵ it was pointed out that this was not the case; the proviso merely ensured that an important act should be done in a solemn manner, and through a fitting officer. The Bishop of Huron had been present at the meeting in his official capacity when the revised statutes were passed and had then made no objection. It was the only meeting of Corporation His Lordship had attended since his consecration in 1857. Though repeatedly urged by Bishop Strachan to do so, he had deemed it, he stated in a Pastoral of July 1860, "a wiser course to stand aloof from the University than by a public protest exhibit the melancholy picture of a house divided against itself." He also added, "I have never assisted the institution in any way."¹⁶

The attack on the teaching of Trinity College was a more serious one. Bishop Cronyn stated in the same Pastoral that

¹⁴The Reverend John Travers Lewis (1825-1901) was elected Bishop of the new Diocese of Ontario, June 13, 1861 (at the age of 36 years) and consecrated March 25, 1862.

¹⁵Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, June 29, 1860.

¹⁶Bishop of Huron, Pastoral, July 21, 1860; published in *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, August 1, 1860 (in the Library of Trinity College).

in examining candidates for the ministry in his Diocese he had taken pains to inform himself of the methods of teaching at Trinity. He had obtained possession of a manuscript, compiled from the notes of three students on Provost Whitaker's lectures on the Church catechism, which, he said, was placed in the hands of each student entering the University. He considered both the method of teaching and the instruction given dangerous in the extreme, setting forth views unsound and un-protestant.¹⁷

The Provost replied to the Bishop in a public letter, explaining his methods.¹⁸ The catechism—his own questions—was not placed in students' hands; they made their own notes from his lectures and were examined orally by him. He was responsible for his own teaching and was prepared to publish it in full and thus get rid of the false impressions which had been created. A further statement by the Corporation reviewed the whole question, criticized the Bishop of Huron's methods, expressed confidence in the Provost and his teaching "as being in entire conformity with the formalities of our Church as elucidated by her great writers," and challenged the Bishop of Huron to come out in the open and make definite charges.¹⁹

The Bishop of Huron ignored this challenge but later in a letter "to the Clerical and Lay Gentlemen composing the Executive Committee of the Diocese of Huron" disclosed that he had sent out a questionnaire to certain graduates and others connected with Trinity College and from the replies of "four or five of them" he still regarded the teaching at Trinity as dangerous in the extreme.²⁰ The Bishop charged that the Provost's teaching implied: (1) that the Church of England had lost at the Reformation some things which were in themselves edifying (e.g., Reservation of the Sacra-

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Globe*, July 28, 1860.

¹⁹*Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, August 8, 1860.

²⁰The letter is undated; see *Colonial Church Chronicle* (London, Eng.), November 1860, p. 426.

ment for the sick); (2) undue exaltation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by asserting that she was an instrument in bringing mankind into the Kingdom of Heaven; (3) the Communion of Saints, i.e., that departed friends might pray for those on earth; (4) that there were five other Sacraments besides the "two generally necessary to Salvation"; (5) an interpretation of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel as applying to the Holy Eucharist which was a Romish doctrine; (6) a teaching on baptismal regeneration which was also Romish.

The Provost replied to these charges in an able defence addressed to the President of the College, Bishop Strachan, and read before the Corporation on September 27, 1860.²¹ Resolutions were passed expressing entire satisfaction with the Provost's explanation, and censuring the Bishop of Huron for his methods in securing information, for his failure to consult the Provost as to the truth of the said information, and for the unprecedented manner in which these grave charges had been given publicity through the press.

The controversy by this time had aroused interest outside Canada and some of the articles had been published in England. The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, an English missionary publication, regarded the Provost's defence as conclusive and thought it would be with any other prelate than Bishop Cronyn;²² the *Guardian* said: "Since the Provost's overwhelming rejoinders, Bishop Cronyn has been silent. He stands convicted of having made groundless charges against the most important Church institution in Canada."²³

At the annual meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto on the twenty-fifth of June 1861,²⁴ Bishop Strachan referred at length to the controversy, with a fervent vindi-

²¹Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, September 27, 1860. *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette* (extra), September 1860.

²²*Colonial Church Chronicle*, January 1861.

²³*Guardian*, December 27, 1860.

²⁴Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, *Report*, June 25, 1861.

cation of the teaching at Trinity under the Provost and a strong indictment of the Bishop of Huron and his tactics. He regarded the attack as a personal one: "In the 58th year of my ministry, I am called upon for the first time to prove my orthodoxy and innocence of leaning towards Romish doctrines. In making these accusations his Lordship virtually makes them against me, for, of all men, I am most responsible for the teachings. Trinity would welcome an enquiry which could only come before the Metropolitan. Let the Bishop produce his witnesses—he must either withdraw his charges or prove them publicly."

During the proceedings a motion was made by the Reverend Dr. Beaven, seconded by Mr. J. W. Gamble, "That the Synod desires to express its deep sympathy with our venerable Bishop in his late trials and difficulties in consequence of the imputations cast upon the teaching of Trinity and with the Reverend the Provost as the exponent of that teaching and declares its confidence in the College and its administration." This was carried by a vote of 84 to 24 (For, 54 clerical, 30 lay; Against, 14 clerical, 10 lay).

Previously the Bishop of Huron had changed his mind about not sending representatives to the Corporation and had decided to appoint his five Councillors. They and the Bishop were present at the Corporation meeting of the fourth of June 1861, and at subsequent meetings until the end of the controversy in 1863. At that meeting the Bishop of Huron gave notice of motion, "regretting the stand of the Corporation." This was defeated at the meeting on the eighteenth of February 1862, by an amendment proposed by the Chancellor, Chief Justice the Honourable Sir John Beverley Robinson, stating "that the opinion expressed by the Corporation on the first letters of the Provost vindicated the writer from the imputation of teaching doctrines not allowed by the Church, and to that opinion the Corporation still adheres," and requiring a specific statement, in writing,

of the objections of the Bishop.²⁵ At the same meeting Bishop Cronyn moved the appointment of a special committee to receive a statement of his objections. The committee consisted of Samuel Bickerton Harman, Q.C., appointed by the Bishop of Toronto, the Reverend J. W. Marsh, appointed by the Bishop of Huron, and the Reverend Dr. W. B. Lauder, appointed by the Bishop-elect of Ontario.

The first Synod of the new Diocese of Ontario was convened in April 1862. In his opening address Bishop Lewis referred at length to the controversy and in no uncertain terms defended Provost Whitaker and the teaching at Trinity College. A motion was passed expressing confidence "that under the wise administration of the said College it will continue to prove in its teaching a faithful exponent of the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland."²⁶ This motion was carried by a vote of 45 to 10.

Apparently some discussions were now taking place in an endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the parties concerned. That these efforts proved futile is indicated in a letter to the Bishop of Huron from the Bishop of Toronto, dated the twenty-ninth of September 1862.²⁷ In it, the latter stated that the Provost of Trinity declined to take any part in "some grave alterations" suggested by the Bishop of Huron in conducting that institution, but that an opening for making up all differences had occurred in the recent resignation of Professor Hatch, whereby the Provost was to retain all his privileges and assume the Department of Classics instead of Theology. Then a Professor of Theology might have been appointed acceptable to all parties. He added that he himself was opposed in principle to the contemplated changes, because "I feel they would prove detrimental to the usefulness and rising reputation of Trinity College."

At the meeting of Corporation held on the seventh of

²⁵Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, February 18, 1862.

²⁶*Proceedings of the First Sessions of the Synod of Ontario* (Kingston, 1863).

²⁷Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, September 29, 1862.

October 1862, the special committee recommended that all the papers in the case be submitted to the Metropolitan (the Bishop of Montreal), and the other Canadian Bishops for examination. At a special meeting of the Corporation held on the twenty-ninth of September 1863, replies from the Bishops were received. The Bishop of Quebec, the Bishop of Ontario, the Bishop of Toronto, and the Metropolitan upheld the Provost and the character of the teaching at Trinity College, the Bishop of Huron, as was to be expected, maintaining his original stand.

It was then resolved "That the Corporation after fully considering the charges preferred by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Huron and the opinions of the Canadian Bishops on those charges and the Provost's replies, is of the opinion that that teaching is neither unsound, unscriptural, contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, dangerous in its tendency, nor leading to the Church of Rome." The vote of those present was 13 for, 8 against, the latter votes being cast by the six representatives of the Diocese of Huron, the Reverend H. J. Grasett, and the Honourable Mr. Vice-Chancellor Spragge. The three absentees, who concurred in the resolution, were George W. Allan, Esq., Thomas C. Street, Esq., and the Chancellor, the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron.

Thus the Provost was vindicated by the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, 84 votes to 24, the Synod of Ontario, 45 to 10, the House of Bishops, 4 to 1, and the Corporation of Trinity College, 16 to 8.

The Bishop of Huron and his representatives then withdrew from the Corporation and ceased to have any connection with Trinity College. In the meantime Bishop Cronyn had taken steps to form a diocesan college of his own in London, Ontario, with the Reverend Isaac Hellmuth as Principal. In September 1863 Huron College was opened and is now an affiliated college in the University of Western Ontario.

During the next few years, and until the death of Bishop Strachan in 1867, the College experienced other reverses. True, there were bright spots such as the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) in September 1860, when an address of welcome was presented by the Lord Bishop on behalf of the College at the levee at Government House; and the visit of the Governor-General, Viscount Monck, to the College in September 1862, when the address from the Corporation was read by the Bishop and that of the College was presented by the Provost. Shortly after the visit of the Prince, His Royal Highness endowed with a gift of £200 the prize which bears his name. This prize, which, with some exceptions, has been awarded annually since 1864, was originally granted to a student of the second year showing proficiency in English Literature and History. In recent years two prizes have been awarded to students ranking highest in Classics and Mathematics.

The financial depression which began in 1857 continued,²⁸ so that by the end of 1862 it was necessary to consider drastic retrenchment. From January 1, 1863, the salaries of the Provost and Professor Hind²⁹ were reduced by £100; the college laundry was discontinued; resident students were required to pay for the coal consumed in their fire-places, and beer was an extra charge in the College accounts. On the other hand the fees of resident students were reduced by £50. It was realized, however, that this retrenchment was only a temporary measure. The real need was an increase in the endowment to provide additional revenue.

²⁸Ontario Archives, Strachan Letter Book, Strachan to the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, the Secretary of the S.P.G., March 30, 1860: "The commercial depression which began in the summer of 1857 has prostrated the whole country and paralyzed all our resources."

²⁹Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908), geologist and explorer, educated at Leipzig and Cambridge; came to Canada in 1846; master, Toronto Normal School, 1848-53; Professor of Chemistry and Geology, Trinity College, 1853-64; Government service, Canada, for thirteen years, in charge of explorations in the Northwest Territories, Labrador, eastern Canada, and Newfoundland.

To this end, in 1864 the Reverend William McMurray,³⁰ Rector of St. Mark's, Niagara, was commissioned by the Bishop and the College to proceed to England to enlist the sympathies of the Church people there. So successful was he in his mission that the sum of close upon four thousand pounds sterling was collected. Among those who warmly supported his appeal were the Reverend John Keble, author of *The Christian Year*, who subscribed £300; the Reverend Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey; and the Honourable William Ewart Gladstone and his wife, who entertained Dr. McMurray at Hawarden, subscribed liberally themselves, and introduced him to many notables who contributed substantially to the fund. Being obliged to curtail his visit on account of the death of his son, he was succeeded by the Reverend William Stewart Darling, of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto, who energetically completed the appeal.

In 1866 conditions were so improved that the salaries of the Provost and professors were restored to their original amounts and in some cases the accumulated arrears were paid as well. Mr. Charles Magrath, the Secretary and Bursar, whose services had been given gratuitously from the beginning, was granted a nominal salary of £200 per annum.

On the thirty-first of January 1863, the College suffered its

³⁰William McMurray (1810-1894) came to Canada at an early age. He was educated at the Blue School at York under Dr. Strachan and prepared by him for the ministry. In 1832 he was sent to Sault Ste Marie as a lay teacher and missionary and served there until 1838. He was ordained deacon 1833, priest April 1840, one of the four at Bishop Strachan's first ordination. He received honorary degrees: M.A. Trinity College, Hartford, 1846; D.D. Columbia 1852; D.C.L. '57. He was appointed assistant at Dundas and Ancaster 1838 and Rector 1840; Rector, St. Mark's, Niagara, 1857-94; Rural Dean 1860; Archdeacon 1875.

In 1852-53, Dr. McMurray had visited the eastern United States on behalf of Trinity, collecting some \$10,000 in money and books. A stained glass window sent from members of the American Episcopal Church to St. James' Church, Dundas, commemorates this visit and the impression made upon brother Churchmen, bishops, clergy, and laity in the eastern states. The window contains, among other emblems, the arms of Trinity College.

In May 1928 Dr. McMurray's portrait, painted by Sir Wyly Grier, R.C.A., was presented by the artist to Trinity and now hangs in the College halls.

first great loss in the death, after a painful illness of some months, of its distinguished Chancellor, Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson. An earnest pupil of Bishop Strachan at the Cornwall school, he was also in a sense his adopted son. A zealous Churchman and an able jurist, he had risen at an early age to the top of his profession. He had been a warm supporter of the Bishop in all his undertakings, a support that was strongly in evidence throughout the controversy concerning King's College, its secularization in 1849, and the campaign immediately initiated for the establishment of a Church University. That he should be its first Chancellor was eminently logical, and his sound judgment and advice in those days were invaluable. One of his last official acts was a motion at a meeting of the Corporation vindicating Provost Whitaker and his teaching against the attacks of Bishop Cronyn of Huron. On the twelfth of June 1863 the Honourable John Hillyard Cameron was installed second Chancellor of the University of Trinity College.

The remaining period of the Bishop's life was indeed one of labour and sorrow. The death of his close friend the Chancellor was a deep personal loss. Two years later Mrs. Strachan died after nearly three score years of happily married life. The Fenian invasion, in June 1866, the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada the following September and its attendant financial losses, the long-drawn-out battle at the election for a coadjutor to relieve the Bishop of some of his official duties (a political battle which was the natural outcome of the Cronyn attack of ten years before) all combined to weaken physically the aged prelate. The last meeting of Corporation attended by the Bishop was on the eighth of February 1867. He died in the early morning of All Saints' Day, 1867.

It was the end of an era, though few realized it at the time. In the troublous days which lay ahead, the guiding hand and mind of its Founder and first President were to be sadly missed by his "dear College—the child of his old age."

CHAPTER FOUR

DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS:

1867-1881

NROLMENT at the opening of Michaelmas Term, 1867, was the smallest in the history of the College, there being only four matriculants. Three of these were from Trinity College School at Weston, namely, William Osler, who won the Dickson Scholarship in his first year (Arts) but transferred to Toronto School of Medicine in the autumn of 1868 for two years before proceeding to McGill to complete his medical course (1870-72), and thus to enter a profession in which he attained eminence, high honours, and a baronetcy; Robert Gregory Cox, a brilliant scholar who held the Wellington Scholarship throughout his course; and Arthur Jarvis, awarded the Strachan Scholarship, subsequently Rector of Napanee and Canon of the Diocese of Ontario.

The Convocation of that year, on the thirty-first of October, differed from all other convocations in that the students in the gallery were silent, songs and jokes were omitted, and speeches dispensed with. All this because the venerable Founder lay upon his death bed. Five days later his funeral from the "Palace" to the Cathedral was attended by the students and staff of Trinity, by representatives from other colleges, including the University of Toronto, Victoria Medical Faculty, and Upper Canada College, and, of course, by a large assembly of citizens.

In the January following a meeting of Churchmen was called to consider a memorial to the late Bishop. A proposal

by the Chancellor that this take the form of a convocation hall and library for Trinity College was supported by the majority of those present but met with opposition from a section of the clergy, who claimed that such a memorial would not appeal to the public at large. A committee appointed to collect funds failed in its objective, although friends and supporters of Trinity contributed over four thousand dollars. At the diocesan Synod in 1868 and following years efforts were made towards the same end, but the response was such that the project fell through and was finally abandoned.¹

Provost Whitaker enjoyed a much-needed vacation in England during the summer of 1868, returning in October to meet the largest class of matriculants since 1855, sixteen in all, among whom was one who would attain distinction in later life, John Austin Worrell, at this time a youth of sixteen years of age.² The meetings of the Literary Institute took on new life, evening chapel was changed from 6 p.m. to 9:30, and fines were instituted as punishment instead of "gating." The rule regarding the wearing of the cap and gown outside the College was suspended during the afternoon hours from two to six o'clock.

The chief concern of the governing body at this time was the financial situation. A report of a special committee in March 1869 revealed total assets of £56,583 (\$226,332), an annual income of something less than £4,000 (\$16,000) with an estimated expenditure for 1869 of \$18,000.

A committee appointed to consider affiliation with "a provincial university" (presumably the University of Toronto) after several meetings reported that the measure was surrounded by so many difficulties and open to so many and grave objections that it was one that should not be entertained.³

¹See Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, *Journal*, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1874.

²John Austin Worrell (1852-1927), '71, B.C.L. '80, D.C.L. '98; Lecturer in Classics 1875; Chancellor, Trinity College, 1914-27; Chancellor, Diocese of Toronto, 1897-1927. He died on February 27, 1927.

³Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, February 8, 1870.

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Measures were proposed, however, which in the opinion of the committee would materially improve the financial position of the College, namely: the greatest possible retrenchment in expenditure; the conversion of wild lands and other property into cash; the realizing of debts and monies due the College; and the appointment of two additional professors, one in Natural Science, and one in Modern History and English Literature.

In this connection it is a matter of interest to note that the entire teaching in Divinity was done by the Provost; in Classics by Dean Ambery; and in Mathematics by Professor William Jones. The last was a former student who had returned to Trinity in 1863, after a postgraduate course at Cambridge where he attained high honours as a Wrangler in the mathematical tripos (M.A. 1864).⁴ Part-time assistance was given by Emile Pernet in French, by the Reverend A. J. Broughall, '55, in Classics, and, occasionally, by Dr. James Bovell, of the former Medical Faculty, in Natural Science. But the real need to ensure the success of the College was an increased enrolment. The fees from some thirty-odd students were but a small proportion of the income necessary to carry on the work successfully.

The estimated attendance for 1869 was twenty-four resident students and eight non-residents paying fees of \$200 and \$62 respectively.⁵ It was reported four years later that by rigid economy the deficit had been turned into a surplus so that it was possible to increase the Provost's salary to \$2,400, the Dean's to \$1,600, and that of the Professor of Mathematics to \$1,200. A report on the affairs of the College at that time showed that in the nineteen years since 1854, 151 degrees had been granted in Arts plus 19 by examination

⁴William Jones (1838-1907), student at Trinity College 1855-57, B.A. Cantab. 1862; Professor of Mathematics, Trinity College, 1863-95; Dean of Residence, 1875-91; Bursar and Secretary 1895-1907.

⁵These were the fees established at the opening of the College (see the Calendar of 1854). In 1878 they remained approximately the same.

only, 53 in Medicine, 13 in Law, and that 78 students had left without graduating.

Two other important questions were considered and happily solved during the period under review. First, the revival of the Medical Faculty. As early as May 1868 a committee had considered this, which, among other problems, involved the vexed question of the abolition of religious tests.

Nothing seems to have been done until late in 1870 when Doctors James Bovell, Edward M. Hodder, Norman Bethune, William Hallowell, and C. B. Hall were appointed a provisional board of examiners in the Faculty of Medicine. All but Dr. Hall had been the prime movers in the establishment of the Faculty in 1850 and were signatories to the letter of resignation when it ceased to function in 1856. It would appear, therefore, that former differences had been forgotten and a definite policy of co-operation agreed upon. A committee representing Trinity University, consisting of the Provost, Dean Ambery, and Messrs. S. B. Harman, Lewis Moffatt, and C. J. Campbell, was also instructed to consider the revival of the Medical Faculty and its affiliation with the College.

This resulted in the appointment in March 1871 of Dr. Edward M. Hodder as Dean of the Trinity Medical School and Doctors William R. Beaumont, Norman Bethune, and William Hallowell as Professors. Dr. W. B. Geikie and Dr. John Fulton⁶ were added to the board of examiners with a view to their ultimate appointment as professors, the former to be registrar, secretary, and treasurer of the School. About the same time Dr. James Bovell⁷ resigned as Professor of Natural Science and returned to his birthplace in Barba-

⁶Doctors Geikie and Fulton had withdrawn from the Victoria Medical School on the death of Dr. John Rolph in 1870.

⁷James Bovell (1817-1880), born Barbados, B.W.I.; educated at London and Edinburgh; came to Canada 1848; Professor and Dean, Faculty of Medicine, Trinity University, 1851-56; returned to Barbados 1870, studied theology; ordained deacon and priest by Bishop of Antigua 1871. He died at Nevis, B.W.I., January 15, 1880.

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dos, B.W.I., where he was prevailed upon by the Bishop of Antigua to take Holy Orders.

The new faculty held its first examinations in April 1871, when the number of candidates far exceeded all expectations. The Provost and the members of the Corporation gave the School every aid in their power and practical support by authorizing the erection of a building, adjacent to the General Hospital on ground owned by the College,⁸ at a cost of \$7,000 together with a grant of \$1,200 per annum for six years. Two years later the teaching faculty was increased by the part-time appointments of Dr. William H. Ellis, as Professor of Chemistry and Dr. J. E. Kennedy of Medical Jurisprudence.

In 1877 the Trinity Medical School, with the consent of the Corporation, applied for and obtained from the Provincial Legislature incorporation as a teaching body entirely independent of Trinity College. This enabled the Medical School to affiliate with any university empowered to grant degrees in Medicine. The advantages were twofold. Trinity College was relieved of all financial responsibility in connection with the Medical School, and the students of the School were afforded every facility for obtaining degrees at other universities if they so desired. In 1888 the School was raised to the dignity of a College, and in 1903 the Toronto Medical College and the Trinity Medical College were amalgamated and became the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Toronto.

The other event worthy of note is that of the foundation of Trinity College School. In 1864 the Reverend William A. Johnson, Rector of the parish of Weston, applied to the College Corporation for permission to establish a preparatory

⁸This lot, with 100 feet of frontage on the south side of Spruce Street, had been purchased by the College in 1854 at a cost of £225 currency (\$900) through Dr. Cornelius James Philbrick, at the time of the erection of the General Hospital on Gerrard Street in an adjoining block. Fifty-eight years later this lot with the building was sold for \$15,000.

school at Weston to be known as the Trinity College School, Mr. Johnson undertaking to provide the site or a building out of private funds. The project had the support of the Trinity authorities including Dean Ambery, Professor William Jones, and the saintly Dr. James Bovell, a warm personal friend of Mr. Johnson. The School was opened on the first day of May 1865, under the headmastership of the Reverend C. H. Badgley, '59, M.A. '64. The same year a similar school was opened at Picton under the auspices of the Bishop of Ontario, Dr. J. Travers Lewis, but it was obvious the competition of the two schools was not advisable; efforts were made for their amalgamation, without success. Friction having developed on account of the dual control at Weston and the inadequacy of the quarters there, the School's governing body, after examining several sites, acquired in 1868 a property of some twenty acres near the town of Port Hope. Two years later Mr. Badgley and most of the staff resigned; the School had failed to pay its way and it was evident that radical changes in the management were necessary to ensure success.

At this juncture, in July 1870, the Corporation passed a resolution "that the Head Mastership of Trinity College School be offered to the Reverend C. J. S. Bethune,⁹ under the condition that the Corporation of Trinity College is in no way responsible for the expenses incurred, or to be incurred, for such school; it being understood that Trinity College School could not be established under the act incorporating Trinity College." This disclaimer it is difficult to understand, inasmuch as the College had always maintained a close connection with the School by appointing the Chancellor, the Provost, and the Professors in Arts and Theology, *ex officio*, to seats on the governing body of

⁹Charles James Stewart Bethune (1838-1932), son of the second Bishop of Toronto; educated Upper Canada College and Trinity College, '59, M.A. '62; D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '83; deacon 1861, priest 1862; headmaster, Trinity College School, 1870-99; Professor, Ontario Agricultural College, 1906-10.

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Trinity College School and allowing the original name to be retained.

With the appointment of Dr. Bethune and under his long régime of thirty years the School steadily grew in numbers and reputation. Many of its students proceeded to Trinity and added lustre to the reputation of the University. The University in turn has provided the School with headmasters of distinction in addition to Dr. Bethune and Mr. Badgley, such as Dr. Herbert Symonds, '86, Dr. Oswald Rigby (Dean of Trinity 1891-1903), and the present incumbent, Philip A. C. Ketchum, '23.

The movement for a convocation hall was again revived when, in 1876, the family of the late James Henderson of Yorkville, in accordance with a desire frequently expressed in his lifetime, tendered a gift of \$4,000 to be used for a chapel or a convocation hall provided sufficient additional funds were raised from other quarters. A legacy from the estate of the late Thomas Clark Street of Clark Hill, Niagara Falls, for a like amount, which had been received three years before, was allocated to the fund. This together with a further guarantee of \$4,600 by the College from monies collected in 1868 for a memorial of Bishop Strachan made it possible to proceed with the much-needed addition. In May the design of Mr. Frank Darling for the hall was accepted and the building was completed by the autumn. The official opening and dedication as a memorial to the Founder took place on the fifteenth of November 1877, when the Honourable George William Allan, D.C.L., was installed as Chancellor in succession to the late Honourable John Hillyard Cameron.¹⁰

During this period several changes had taken place in the

¹⁰John Hillyard Cameron (1817-1876), educated at Upper Canada College; barrister 1838, Q.C. 1846, Solicitor-General for Upper Canada 1846-48; member of Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada and House of Commons of Canada; D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '55; Chancellor, Trinity College, 1863-76; Chancellor, Diocese of Toronto, 1861-76. He died on November 14, 1876.

staff. Dean Ambery, who had retired as Professor of Classics, was succeeded in 1875 by the Reverend William Jones as Dean and the Reverend Henry E. Maddock as Professor of Classics. The latter's occupancy was brief, he being followed in 1878 by the Reverend Algernon Boys, M.A., who occupied the chair for over eleven years.

Lectureships in Classics were held successively by the Reverend A. J. Broughall, the Reverend Ogden Pulteney Ford, Robert Gregory Cox, and John Austin Worrell; in Physical Science by William H. Ellis, M.A., and Thomas Henry Smyth, M.A., B.Sc.; and in French by M. Emile Pernet.

Another appointment which was destined to leave its mark on the College for all time was that of Frank Darling as College architect in November 1878.¹¹ For some five years he had acted in an advisory capacity on repairs to the buildings, and, as mentioned above, had designed the new Convocation Hall. In later years he designed the eastern and western wings, the beautiful Gothic Chapel and, finally, the present building on Hoskin Avenue in which he faithfully reproduced externally the chief characteristics of Kivas Tully's original structure.

The hoped-for increase in enrolment fell off in 1869 and subsequent years, but a large proportion of the students who registered were of exceptional ability and became prominent in church and state and public life.

There was little change in College routine. Dinner in Hall was a somewhat formal and solemn function at mid-day. The years sat separately at three tables placed longitudinally down the hall, while one of the Professors—the presiding

¹¹Frank Darling (1850-1923), second son of the Reverend William Stewart Darling, Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto; educated at Trinity College School. At the age of twenty he went to England and studied with George Edmund Street and Sir Arthur Blomfield. In 1915 he was awarded the Royal Gold Medal for the promotion of architecture by King George V, the first occasion since its institution by Queen Victoria in 1848 that the award had been in one of the great overseas dominions.

officer for the week—with any distinguished visitors sat at a head table placed cross-wise. The Latin graces before and after meat were said in turn by a student appointed weekly. Until the building of Convocation Hall with a refectory in the basement, meals were served under very cramped and uncomfortable conditions in the back part of the main entrance hall.

Chapel, at which attendance was compulsory, was held in a room over the main hall, afterwards used as a library. Mattins and Evensong were said daily with “no shortened form or unseemly abbreviations.” The Holy Communion was celebrated on Sundays and Saints’ Days. Notwithstanding the charges of ritualism and Romish teaching, the services were plain in the extreme; there was little ceremonial except what had been customary in the Church from time immemorial. Even an attempt by certain students to adopt a custom now almost universal, namely, the congregation standing at the presentation of the offertory, was discouraged by the Provost who, although he thoroughly approved, felt it was not sufficiently important to be made the subject of controversy. “The college,” he said, “had as much as it could do to meet the foolish accusations brought against us, and it would not be right for us to give occasion for the enemy to blaspheme.”¹² So the promoters agreed not to press the point until all the men in College were unanimously in favour.

On the social side, the Conversazione was one of the innovations in the early seventies which soon became an annual event. It does not appear that dancing was the principal feature, although indulged in to some extent. By far the most important was a musical programme, consisting of songs by eminent local artists, glees and choruses by the students, and occasionally a talk on national music by M.

¹²Canon Arthur Jarvis, “Reminiscences” (manuscript in the possession of his daughter, Miss Julia Jarvis, University of Toronto Library).

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Emile Pernet, the French lecturer, illustrated by a choir of men. On the first occasion there was an exhibition of works of art distributed through the corridors and rooms. While the "Conversat." was entirely the conception of the senior students, the invitation list had to be submitted to the College authorities. Exception was taken by the Provost on one occasion to the inclusion of Goldwin Smith on the ground that he was an enemy to the College. (Professor Smith's radical views were, at that time, looked upon with suspicion.) When it was pointed out that by inviting him the College would be heaping coals of fire on his head "the Provost could not object to our sound Biblical reasoning."¹³

In January 1880 appeared for the first time the College paper *Rouge et Noir*. It was inspired by John Travers Lewis, '78, Charles Harper Shortt, '79, W. M. Cruttenden, '80, and Frederick E. Howitt, Div. '81. Lewis was the editor, Cruttenden the secretary, and Howitt the business manager.¹⁴ At first published quarterly, it was, with the support of the men in residence, a success and soon became a College institution. At the outset exception was taken to the name which of course was suggested by the College colours. It was only adopted (according to the first editorial) for lack of a better one, for "when going to press some title was necessary and the colours seemed to suggest a local loyalty to the College without being unwarrantably comprehensive." To the "unco

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴John Travers Lewis, '78, M.A. '89, D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '98, son of the first Bishop of Ontario; Chancellor, Diocese of Ottawa.

William M. Cruttenden, '80; journalist, U.S.A.

Frederick Elliott Howitt, Div. '81; deacon 1881, priest 1882; Rector, St. George's Church, Hamilton; Canon, Diocese of Niagara.

Charles Harper Shortt, '79, M.A. '86; deacon 1881, priest 1882; founder of St. Cyprian's, Toronto; missionary to Japan 1900-18; Principal, St. Mark's Hall, Vancouver, 1918; Warden, Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, 1920-33; died 1948. In 1918, on his return from Japan after eighteen years of missionary work, he was offered the degree of Doctor of Divinity (*honoris causa*) by the University of Trinity College. This he declined because of the view he had often expressed, that the conferring of such degrees should only be "under very exceptional circumstances."

guid" the title was suggestive of a gambling game and therefore thought unsuitable for a college where divinity was taught. Eight years later it was succeeded by *The Trinity University Review*.

The main object of *Rouge et Noir* was to provide college chronicles, to be a vehicle by which a Trinity man of literary ability might display his wares in prose and verse, and where the grievances of the undergraduate might be exploited. Naturally it was not regarded with unanimous approval by the faculty, to whom it was frequently a thorn in the flesh and from whom at times there came dire threats when criticism was too caustic or indicated scant reverence for the powers that be. But it lived, never wholly bankrupt, though with little financial success until in later years under its successor's name it became the official organ of the University.

On the opening of the Michaelmas Term in 1879 Provost Whitaker announced to the Corporation that he had been offered by the Bishop of Salisbury the parish at Newton Tony, Wilts., a living in the gift of his own college, Queen's, of Cambridge, the appointment to take effect the following June, or later if necessary. This announcement caused considerable concern, not only to the Corporation, but also to the friends and supporters of the College, particularly among the clergy. At the request of Bishop Strachan, Provost Whitaker had been selected for his post by a committee of four eminent divines in England. The object of this committee was to secure a man of high character whose distinguished literary attainments would give value to the scholastic work and whose parochial experience would fit him for the important duty of training young men for Holy Orders. No better appointment could have been made.

George Whitaker graduated from Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1833 with a first-class Classical Tripos and honours in Classics and Mathematics. He was then Classical

Lecturer and Fellow at Queen's until his appointment in 1840 to the vicarage of Oakington, a country village a few miles from Cambridge. He was ordained deacon in 1837, priest in 1838, on both occasions by the Bishop of Ely in St. George's, Hanover Square, London.

He was in his early forties, when, in 1851, he was appointed Provost of the new Trinity College and entered upon the difficult position which he filled with conspicuous ability for thirty years. From the first he had to formulate the courses of instruction and to be Professor of Divinity and tutor as well as the administrative head of the College. He was scrupulous in training students in the tenets of the Church of England as set forth by her most learned writers. As a powerful preacher and speaker he had few equals; whether in Chapel or Hall, in Church or Synod he always had something worth while to say and said it with eloquence and simple force. A man in such a position necessarily encounters opposition from others, as, for instance, in the controversy with Bishop Cronyn of the Diocese of Huron who charged him and the College with Romish teachings.¹⁵

Not seeking position or popularity, he was nevertheless the nominee for Bishop three times: in September 1866, as coadjutor to Bishop Strachan; in February 1878, as coadjutor to Bishop Bethune; and again, after the death of the latter on the third of February 1879, as his successor in the Bishopric. On each occasion he had a large majority of the clerical votes but failed to obtain sufficient votes from the lay delegates. In a letter to his friend the Venerable Archdeacon Roe of Lennoxville, Que., he said, referring to the election in September 1866:

My consent was never asked by those who acted on my behalf. They knew what my feelings were and most honorably respected them. And I feel now that if I had stated that I would not serve in the event of my

¹⁵Reference to this attack and the Provost's spirited defence and subsequent vindication has been made in chapter III, pp. 61 ff.

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election, I should have been acting an unworthy part, and assuming a responsibility that I had no right to take upon myself.

After the election held in February 1879 to elect a successor to the late Bishop Bethune, writing again to Dr. Roe, he said:

I allowed my name to be put forward by, what I call, the Church party. I gave myself entirely into their hands, entirely desiring to stand apart and to have nothing to do with the details of the contest. I have been complimented on my generous withdrawal. I deserve neither praise nor blame for it. I feel most deeply that the result actually reached is due *altogether* to the wisdom and goodness of God, and in *no degree* to the wisdom and prudence of man. He heard our prayers and gave us not what we asked, but what he saw to be expedient for us.

On the eleventh of May 1881 the Provost attended the meeting of Corporation for the last time, leaving Toronto early in June. "He leaves this country," said *Rouge et Noir*, "carrying with him the admiration and grateful regard of those who knew him best. In learning, ability and loftiness of character he has had no peer amongst the clergy of this land. He has toiled and taught and never spared himself in the interests of the Church and has laid, along with Bishop Strachan, Chief Justice Robinson and other loyal Churchmen, a solid foundation."

He did not live long to enjoy his well-earned relaxation in the endowed and charmingly situated living at Newton Tony, a few miles northeast of the beautiful cathedral town of Salisbury. He died suddenly on the twenty-eighth of August 1882, "a type of the High Church clergyman of the old school with no sympathies for parties holding extreme views in the Church of England. He rather strove by quiet and scholarly dignity to raise the status of the Church, endeavouring at the same time to avoid any course that would give unnecessary offence to those without her communion. Those who knew him best were impressed by the simplicity and earnestness of his character."¹⁶

¹⁶ *Mail* (Toronto), August 29, 1882.

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To this might be added a tribute from one of his students, George Allan Mackenzie, '69, published in the *Review* under the caption "*Consule Planco.*" "His mental powers, his store of learning, his modesty, consistency, courage, and love of righteousness which lifted him to a just eminence amongst his fellows, will cause him to live long in the reverence and affection of many."¹⁷

¹⁷*The Review*, February 1890.

CHAPTER FIVE

GROWTH AND CHANGE: 1881-1894



PPOINTMENT of a successor to Provost Whitaker was finally left in the hands of the Bishop of Toronto and the retiring Provost. In January, 1880, the position had been offered to the Reverend Dr. J. A. Lobley, Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, but he had declined it.¹

Early in July 1881, it was announced that the Reverend Charles W. E. Body, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, had been appointed from the first of October following. He was a young man, thirty years of age, and had had a brilliant career at Cambridge: Sixth Wrangler in Mathematics and with honours in Theology. Since 1877 he had been a Fellow and Lecturer in Theology at St. John's where he was regarded as a Hebrew scholar of distinction.

From the outset it was evident that his youth and energy would enable him to carry out those reforms in education that everywhere were becoming necessary. His plans were stated in a circular issued soon after his arrival in Toronto. Briefly, these consisted of a campaign to raise a supplemental endowment fund of \$100,000, in order to add to the staff and to build an addition to the College building which would provide an adequate number of lecture rooms and additional accommodation for resident students, and, above all, a proper chapel, the lack of which had been for thirty years a

¹Dr. Lobley had been nominated as a candidate for the Bishopric of Toronto the previous February after nineteen ballots had failed to elect, but he was not successful in breaking the deadlock.

serious detriment to the work of the College. In the meantime Provost Body took up a much-needed revision of the curriculum which had remained unchanged since the opening of the College in 1852.

The increase in the endowment was designed to provide for additional Professorships in Divinity, Mental and Moral Philosophy, English Literature, Modern Languages, and Physical Science, and fellowships to assist in the teaching and to promote graduate study. In short he aimed to make the University of Trinity College a university in fact as well as in name, something more than a college teaching only Arts and Divinity, but including, as provided in the Charter, other branches of learning as taught by the "Universities of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

The appeal for a supplementary endowment was successful. In 1885 it was announced that subscriptions amounting to \$108,228 had been collected by the Reverend R. H. Starr,² the financial agent of the College, and the Provost who had accompanied Mr. Starr to England to solicit subscriptions in the summer of 1884. Among the many generous gifts were the following: the sum of \$10,000 from the Henderson family of Toronto towards the erection of a chapel, to be in part a memorial to Miss Millicent Henderson; £3,000 sterling from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (to be appropriated as follows: £1,000 for the erection of new buildings, £1,500 towards the endowment of fellowships, and £500 for a Lectureship in History); £5,000 from a graduate of the University of Oxford, who chose to remain anonymous, to establish a second chair in the Faculty of Divinity and a chair in Science. It was suggested that these chairs should be in memory of two great Oxford teachers, the Reverend John Keble and the Reverend Dr. Edward

²Reginald Heber Starr (1844-1897), educated at the University of New Brunswick; Victoria College, Cobourg, B.A. 1864, M.A. 1867; Trinity College, B.D. '82, D.D. '87. Ordained deacon 1868, priest 1869. Professor of Dogmatic Theology, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., 1895; sometime examiner in Divinity, Trinity College.

Bouverie Pusey.³ The old and staunch friend of the Founder and the College, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, gave £100 as a token of sympathy for the campaign, but regretted, owing to lack of funds, its inability to do more.

The new Chapel, made possible by the munificent donation of the Henderson family, was opened and consecrated on St. Luke's Day, the eighteenth of October 1884. Designed by Frank Darling, it was described at the time as a "gem of ecclesiastical architecture, of the style commonly called perpendicular or late gothic." Although not in strict harmony with the architecture of the College building, it had many beautiful features, chiefly a chancel of ample proportions with seven windows in the apse (subsequently containing memorials to the founders) and excellent woodwork in the roof and in the stalls. The cost of the organ, \$1,500, was assumed by the students of the College, with a committee consisting of C. B. Kenrick, '82, R. N. Hudspeth, '82, and H. Crawford Scadding, '86.

The result of the financial appeal enabled the Corporation to establish a second chair in Divinity, one in Mental and Moral Philosophy, and a Fellowship in Natural Science.⁴ To the Professorship in Divinity the Reverend Gustavus Adolphus Schneider, M.A. of Caius College, Cambridge, was appointed in 1882; but his tenure of office was brief, and his resignation at the end of the Easter Term, 1885, to become Vice-President of Ridley Hall, a theological college at Cambridge, was a distinct loss to Trinity. He was succeeded early in 1886 by the Reverend John Charles Roper, M.A., a graduate of Oxford, as Keble Professor, on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Truro

³Both Dr. Pusey and the Reverend John Keble had subscribed to Dr. McMurray's collection in 1864.

⁴The Reverend George E. Haslam, '84, held the Fellowship in Natural Science from 1885 to 1886. He was succeeded by William O'Connor, M.A. Queen's, Belfast, who received his degrees of M.D., C.M., from Trinity Medical College, Toronto, in 1890.

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and Lincoln. He resigned at the end of December 1888 to take up parochial work at St. Thomas' Church, Toronto, but not before he had left his impress on the work and life of the College.⁵

Dr. Roper was followed by his assistant, the Reverend Herbert Symonds, a man of warm personality, who had been Fellow and Lecturer in Divinity since his graduation in 1886, after a brilliant course during which he had won three scholarships and graduated with honours. The gifts he displayed as an undergraduate marked him for a scholastic career, for he was a teacher and preacher of outstanding ability, and to this work he devoted himself until his appointment to the country parish of Ashburnham in 1892.⁶

During his student days Mr. Symonds was one of the first to foresee that Trinity could never hope to compete successfully with the state-aided University of Toronto; that if federation could be effected on equitable terms Trinity, without sacrifice of principle, would be infinitely stronger than by struggling along as an independent University. At that time, 1884, federation was seriously considered at a meeting of the heads of Colleges summoned by the Honourable George W. Ross, then Minister of Education for Ontario. Many students and supporters of Trinity were favourable to the proposed change; but the negotiations broke down and nothing was accomplished. Both Victoria and Trinity were not unfavourable to federation, but Provost Body was unable to obtain from the Government recognition of Trinity's rights

⁵John Charles Roper (1858-1940), of Keble College and Brasenose College, Oxford, B.A. 1881, M.A. 1884; deacon 1882, priest 1883; Keble Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, 1886-1888; Vicar, St. Thomas' Church, Toronto, 1889; Professor, General Theological Seminary, N.Y., 1897 (D.D. 1898); D.D., Trinity College, Toronto, '12; Bishop of British Columbia 1911; Bishop of Ottawa 1915; Archbishop and Metropolitan of Ontario 1933. Retired 1939.

⁶Herbert Symonds (1860-1921), B.A. '86, M.A. '87, D.D. Queen's 1901; LL.D. McGill 1910; deacon 1885, priest 1887. Fellow, Lecturer, and Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, 1887-92; Rector, St. Luke's Church, Ashburnham, 1892-1901; Headmaster, Trinity College School, Port Hope, 1901-3; Vicar, Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, 1903-21.

to continue religious teaching and her equality as an arts college with University College. Ten years later, Mr. Symonds wrote a clear and convincing pamphlet on the subject which was widely circulated but while it created a profound impression, it also aroused considerable antagonism. When federation was brought before Convocation, it was approved in principle, but was crushed by an overwhelming vote as being impracticable. As it turned out Mr. Symonds was only ten years ahead of the time so that, in 1904, many of the principles he had vigorously advocated were later incorporated in the articles of Federation.⁷

A student who afterwards attained distinction in the literary world entered Trinity about this time. Horatio Gilbert Parker had been ordained to the perpetual diaconate by the Bishop of Ontario, Dr. J. Travers Lewis, in 1881 and for a short time taught at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville. In 1883 Bishop Lewis sent him to Trinity College to complete his studies with a view to entering the priesthood. At the same time Parker gave lectures in elocution to the Divinity students. Ill health compelled his withdrawal from the course after two years and for some time he travelled extensively in Australia and other parts of the Empire and developed a taste for writing. Finally he settled in England where his works soon attracted attention, particularly those historical novels dealing with Canadian life, in which he displayed a deep understanding of our French-Canadian fellow subjects. A profound Imperialist, he entered politics and sat in the British House of Commons as member for Gravesend. He was created a Baronet in 1915, and made a Privy Councillor in 1916. In 1899 Trinity conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He died in 1932.⁸ He was the founder of the scholarship in

⁷Herbert Symonds: *Trinity and Federation* (Toronto, 1894).

⁸Synod of the Diocese of Ontario, *Journal*, 1882-89; *Authors of To-day and Yesterday*, ed. Stanley J. Kunitz (New York, 1933).

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English which bears his name, awarded annually by the College.

With the object of stimulating the interest of graduates in their University, a determined effort was made in 1886 by Provost Body and several prominent laymen to revive Convocation. In the Royal Charter provision had been made whereby those holding the degree of Master of Arts, or any degree in Divinity, Law, or Medicine, might become members of Convocation on payment of a small fee, but this provision had become, in process of time, a dead letter, and the University had been governed solely by a council consisting of the Bishops of the Province of Ontario and their nominees.

The first general meeting of Convocation was held on the third of November 1887, consisting of the staff of the College and a large number of graduates, the Chancellor, the Honourable G. W. Allan, and the Bishop of Niagara, the Right Reverend Charles Hamilton. John Austin Worrell was elected Chairman and the Reverend Herbert Symonds, Clerk of Convocation, and to them and to the Provost and the Reverend Edward C. Cayley the success of the revival was largely due. They travelled throughout the Province establishing branch associations in local centres whereby enthusiasm in the work of the College was aroused and considerable addition made to its revenues.

On Dr. Symonds' resignation as Professor of Divinity in 1892 the Corporation voiced unanimous appreciation of the discharge of his many duties as librarian, choir master, professor, bursar of St. Hilda's College, of his devoted service to the University and, above all, of the important part he had taken in bringing Convocation to its present high position. He was succeeded as Professor of Divinity by the Reverend Edward C. Cayley, '85, Fellow in Theology since 1889.

To the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy the Reverend William Clark was appointed in the spring of

1883.⁹ To enable the College to secure Professor Clark's services, the Reverend John D. Cayley, Rector of St. George's Church, guaranteed the sum of \$500 per annum for five years, during which period Professor Clark was the special preacher at that church.

Of Professor Clark it is impossible to write without enthusiasm. When he came to Trinity College in 1883 as Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy he brought with him such power of address in the pulpit and on the platform, such charm of manner and breadth of sympathies that he stepped at once into the foremost rank of the scholars and theologians of this continent. It is worthy of record, as indicative of his character, that though in receipt of many tempting offers, he adhered with untiring devotion to the work of the College where he made his home when he first crossed the ocean. As a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, as an author of theological and biographical works, as a lecturer and preacher, Professor Clark brought fame and goodwill to the College of his adoption. A graduate of the College¹⁰ pays the following tribute to Dr. Clark:

Every college and university, every school, has its instructor with some oddity of manner or expression, some little idiosyncrasy of attire, gesture, gait or voice which wins the regard of students and preserves him in affectionate esteem. Doctor William Clark, more familiarly known as "Billy" Clark, though Clark seemed redundant, was one of these. Formally speaking, "Billy" signified Professor William Clark, just as surely as "Archie" meant Professor A. H. Young, and "Polly" referred to William Jones, professor of mathematics, and so set him apart from the multitudinous and ubiquitous tribe of Joneses.

Born in Aberdeen, a most truly Scottish part of Scotland, endowed with the burr and the dialect native to his heath, he early sought to

⁹William Robinson Clark (1829-1912), M.A. King's College, Aberdeen, 1848, and Hertford College, Oxford; LL.D. Hobart 1888; D.C.L. '91; deacon 1857, priest 1858; Curate at Birmingham, Vicar of Taunton, Prebendary of Wells; came to Canada 1882; Professor, Trinity College, 1883-1908; special preacher at St. George's, Toronto, 1882-87.

¹⁰M. Bruce McCausland, '06.

acquire a true, pure English, free of cant and affectation. This he not only did, but so well that he became in due course a master of clear, precise and vivid English and professor of English in one of the Empire's universities most exacting. To the very last of a long life Bishop Strachan retained his burr; by studious intention and persistence Professor Clark managed to shed his in the days of his youth, and became one of the most useful and inspiring of teachers.

One phrase associated with his class-room lectures, for he did much lecturing extra-murally, that became memorable through repetition was "He's dead now, poor fellow." Invariably, not once or twice, but often thrice or more times, this phrasing of the Scottish lament would recur. To exemplify the point he wished to make, Dr. Clark would say, "As John Ruskin—he's dead now, poor fellow—repeatedly expressed it...." And then he would go on to elaborate. Or, "As William Gladstone, he's dead now, poor fellow, once said...." And so on. Nor was this conventional expression of regret confined to persons lately deceased or little known. Though his references to predeceased eminence hardly went back so far as, say, Disraeli or Lincoln, they often came close.

An instance of Dr. Clark's remarkable versatility is remembered by many of the older graduates. The Saturday afternoon lectures, usually held during Lent, attracted large audiences, distinguished speakers filling to capacity Convocation Hall. On one occasion Professor Clark Murray of McGill University undertook to lecture on "The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant." The time set was three o'clock, but through a misunderstanding the speaker could not arrive until half-past four. In order to interest the audience until Dr. Murray should arrive, Professor Clark was prevailed upon to speak. To attempt a lecture at a moment's notice and make it popular was no small matter. But Professor Clark was equal to the occasion and gave a lecture on Kant from his own viewpoint which in no way conflicted with Dr. Murray's which followed. The effort was a remarkable one and offered a strong proof of Lord Bacon's dictum that "reading maketh a full man, speaking a ready man and writing an exact man."¹¹

¹¹*The Review*, February 1889.

To the onerous duties of his dual professorship, Dr. Clark generously added extra lectures from time to time in History and in several branches of Theology, with all of which he was thoroughly conversant. He retired in 1908 with the title of Professor Emeritus, retaining his seat on the Corporation as long as his health permitted. He died in November 1912.

Among the principles upon which Trinity College was founded (and enunciated by her Founder) was that it must be based upon the distinctly religious doctrines and practices of the Church of England. This side of the life and purpose of the University appealed to Provost Body with powerful and persistent force.¹² The Chapel, the full-time Professorships in Divinity, the honour course in Theology and for Divinity degrees all emphasized this.¹³ It was logical therefore that in January 1884 there should be formed a Theological and Missionary Society to be a centre for the spiritual work in the College from which missionary and other work undertaken by its members might be directed and developed.¹⁴

The first officers of the Society were the Provost as President, and a Committee consisting of Professors William Clark and G. A. Schneider; A. J. Broughall, J. D. Cayley, C. L. Ingles, John Langtry, graduates of the College; and others. A student, George E. Haslam, '84, was the first secretary. Meetings were held fortnightly during term with papers on missionary and theological subjects by eminent speakers. In addition the Society made a point of keeping in close touch with the clerical alumni.

The Theological and Missionary Society did much to develop interest in the foreign missionary field, notably Japan. Archdeacon A. C. Shaw, '67, the first Trinity graduate to offer himself, had gone to Tokyo in 1873 and by his saintly

¹²Dr. J. C. Roper, Professor of Divinity 1886-88, in *The Review*, June 1902.

¹³At this time a shorter course for Divinity students was instituted which enabled a student to become a Licentiate of Sacred Theology (L.Th.) and a candidate for ordination in three years, one year in Arts and two years in Divinity.

¹⁴*Trinity College Year Book*, 1896.

life had won the people. Following him were J. G. Waller, '89, W. C. Gemmill, '91, Arthur Lloyd (M.A. Cantab. 1891 and for a short time on the staff), F. W. C. Kennedy, '90, J. Chappell, '93, and later, in 1900, Charles Harper Shortt, '79, G. E. Ryerson, '98, and W. H. M. Mockridge, '01.

But the home district was not neglected. Many Divinity students assisted in outlying parishes and founded missions which developed into parishes. Two instances of this might be recalled. In 1884, two Divinity students, C. B. Kenrick, '82, and J. C. Davidson, '82, commenced mission services in a hall over an hotel for the suburban area north of Bloor and west of Bathurst Streets, then known as Seaton Village. This mission, continued by successive Trinity students, was so successful that the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine established a mission house on Follis Avenue in 1890 where services were held until the new parish of St. Cyprian was set apart with the Reverend C. H. Shortt, '79, formerly at Woodbridge, as its first Rector. A church was built on Christie Street and opened in June 1892.

Another suburban mission more intimately connected with the College and called the Trinity University Mission was also commenced in the eighties by two Divinity students, Walter Creswick, '92, and Gilbert Farquhar Davidson, '95, for the district in the neighbourhood of Fairbank, now at the corners of Dufferin Street, Vaughan Road, and Eglinton Avenue. This mission was in the parish of Christ Church, Deer Park. So successful was the venture that in 1893, through the generous support of the College people, the St. Hilda's College staff and students and many friends, the corner-stone of a permanent building was laid on the afternoon of Ascension Day and the church (the original frame building of St. Thomas' Church, Toronto) was dedicated by the Bishop of Toronto on the second day of February 1894. It was appropriate, therefore, that the church should be named after St. Hilda, the English abbess noted for her wisdom and piety, whose monastery at Whitby in Yorkshire

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became a school for missionaries and bishops in the seventh century.

Provost Body was greatly interested at this time, as were many other educationists in Canada, in the higher education of women. Before 1888 partial co-education of a sort had been tried in Canada in such colleges as Victoria at Cobourg, University College, Toronto, and at Queen's University, Kingston. As early as 1886 women students had been admitted to lectures at Trinity, and were eligible for degrees, but the result was not entirely satisfactory.

Provost Body sought to extend the whole system of Trinity, educational and residential, so that women students should enjoy equal privileges with the men, but with a separate teaching staff and the common life in a properly ordered residence. With the support of many friends of Trinity, including Dr. Sweatman, the Bishop of Toronto, Chancellor George W. Allan, and members of the staff, a modest beginning was made in a small house at No. 48 Euclid Avenue in October 1888, under the direction of Miss Ellen Patteson and with a registration of five students, two of whom were in residence. The growth of St. Hilda's College was slow at first, but two removes were made to larger premises during the next six years, so that on Provost Body's retirement in 1894 the future success of his plan seemed assured. During that period the financial panic of 1893, followed by a period of stagnant trade, affected the progress of many educational and other institutions and Trinity was no exception. Unable to pay an independent staff, St. Hilda's had to depend upon the duplication of lectures by members of the Trinity staff, some of whom gave generously of their services for the general good. It was soon realized, however, that the giving of separate courses for the women students was impracticable and since then they have attended lectures with the men of Trinity, and St. Hilda's College has been used as a residence.¹⁵

¹⁵The history of St. Hilda's College is dealt with in chapter ix.

Another venture in the Provost's policy of University expansion was not so successful. Under the Royal Charter the College was stated to be a University and to have and enjoy all "privileges as are enjoyed by our Universities of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland . . . and that the students in the said College shall have liberty and faculty of taking the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor in the several Arts and Faculties." This was taken to include a Faculty of Music.

Although Trinity and, presumably, the University of Toronto, had the power to hold examinations and grant degrees in Music, neither availed themselves of this privilege for many years, and it was not until Trinity showed the way that the University of Toronto became at all interested. True, Trinity had a Professor of Music almost from the beginning, George William Strathy,¹⁶ on whom, in 1858, the University of Trinity College had conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Music. Twenty-three years later the student periodical at Trinity, *Rouge et Noir*, pointed out that while the University of Trinity College had the power of granting a degree in Music (the only genuine one in the country) apparently it had been forgotten: "it had a Professor, but we have seen nothing of him—no graduates—no lectures—no examinations—it is time for a change."¹⁷ This seems to have stirred the authorities to action for in February 1884 a syllabus was drawn up and it was announced that candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Music must pass three annual examinations. In 1886 four degrees were granted.

In 1885 a Registrar in England was appointed in the person of the Reverend Edward K. Kendall, M.A., of Southsea, who was authorized to accept candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Music in the University of Trinity College,

¹⁶In the Roll of Graduates of Trinity College appears "Strathy, G.W., Mus. Bac. 1853, Mus. Doc. 1858."

¹⁷*Rouge et Noir*, vol. II (1881), no. 2.

Toronto, the examinations to be held simultaneously in Toronto and London. Mr. Kendall, a graduate of Cambridge, had been Professor of Mathematics at Trinity from 1856 to 1862 when he returned to England and became Vicar of Southsea. That the offer proved attractive is indicated by the fact that, between 1886 and 1891, 193 candidates applied and 89 degrees in all had been conferred. In April 1889 the Registrar entertained at dinner at the Holborn Restaurant in London a number of English musicians who had not only encouraged but had promised their support of the plan. These included the newly appointed examiners, Dr. E. W. Lott, organist of St. Sepulchre's, Holborn; Dr. E. J. Hopkins, organist of the Temple Church; Dr. W. H. Longhurst, organist of Canterbury Cathedral, and the editor of the *Musical Standard* which had approved the course.

But the popularity of the examinations caused alarm among some of England's high-ranking musicians, and representatives of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and other universities presented a memorial to the Colonial Secretary in February 1890 praying him to take action to prevent this invasion of the Mother Country in what they considered to be a violation of the provisions of Trinity's Charter. They also pointed out the harm that, in their opinion, was being done to the true interests of music in England. Unfortunately the local press published a report of this action without consulting the Provost of Trinity College and a serious situation was created.

A reply to the petitioners' attack was drawn up and signed by the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Bishop of Toronto, refuting the charges contained in the memorial. It was presented in person to the Colonial Secretary by the Provost who left Toronto at the close of the Easter Term. The statement showed unmistakably that the Trinity requirements for the degrees in Music were as strict as those of the English universities and that by engaging eminent

English musicians as examiners a high standard of musical proficiency was assured. To cap all, neither the University of Oxford, of Cambridge, nor of London had officially authorized the attack or knew of the contents of the memorial, although the musicians of high rank who signed it were among the examiners in these Universities.

Later in the year the Corporation decided to receive no more matriculants in England after the first of February 1891. This action was taken, not because of any doubts as to the right of Trinity College to grant degrees in Music, or question as to the professional status of the examiners or the high standard of its examinations, but on account of the grave misunderstanding which had arisen among the universities in England with which Trinity had previously had close and friendly relations; and mainly because the University of Durham had announced its intention of granting degrees in Music on a basis similar to that of Trinity. The work of our own University in that respect (the Corporation felt) had, therefore, become unnecessary and it was thought wise to withdraw from the English field.

The death of the Professor of Classics, the Reverend Algernon Boys, M.A., on the twenty-first of April 1890 removed from the College scene a figure distinguished alike in learning and a personality quaintly eccentric, but of a kindly humour and great generosity withal. Born in Simla, India, he was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he graduated with high classical honours. Before coming to Trinity in 1878, he was Vicar of Faversham, Kent. The high regard in which he was held was well expressed by the editor of *The Review*, who described "a man whose singular fairness of mind, absolute justness and freedom from all prejudice and partiality commanded for him the confidence and respect of every man in Trinity."¹⁸

Two important additions to the staff were made in 1891. The Reverend Edward Wynn Huntingford, M.A. of Merton

¹⁸*The Review*, May 1890.

College, Oxford, was appointed Professor of Classics in succession to the Reverend Arthur Lloyd who had succeeded Professor Boys for one year. Mr. Huntingford, during his nine years of office, was probably the greatest character in the College, and, next to Professor Clark, the most brilliant. A great classical scholar, he did his best to impart some of his knowledge and inspiration to the students, but, in the main, he had a low opinion of their Latin and Greek. He was an admirer of physical prowess and urged athletic exercise on all; with the first-year men he made compulsory a cross-country run each morning before breakfast. Old graduates will remember his famous bull-dog "Isaac," who followed him everywhere and was a College institution.

The Reverend Oswald Rigby, M.A. Cantab., was appointed Professor of History at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term. An honour graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, he proved an outstanding teacher and, as Dean of Residence, to which position he was appointed in January 1892, was the most popular member of the staff. Of a firm but kindly discipline he exercised an excellent influence on the life of the College.

Among students in the late eighties and early nineties there were a number who became prominent in after life. Leaders in the Church included Bishop F. B. Howden of New Mexico; Bishop Frank DuMoulin, Coadjutor Bishop of Ohio; Bishop de Pencier of New Westminster, later Archbishop; Archbishop C. A. Seager, who before he became Bishop of Ontario was Provost of Trinity College from 1921 to 1926; the Reverend H. H. Bedford-Jones, leader in College affairs, an all-round powerful athlete, and for a time after his graduation Fellow in Divinity, and subsequently Rector of St. Peter's, Brockville, and Principal of the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville; the Reverend T. W. Powell, first Rector of St. Clement's Church, North Toronto, founder of St. Clement's School and President of King's College, N.S.; Archdeacon J. H. H. Coleman of Kingston

and the Reverend Walter H. White now of Ottawa who were two outstanding classical scholars; the Reverend J. A. Leighton, Ph.D. Cornell, of the Ohio State University; and the Reverend H. B. Gwyn of Chicago.

Prominent in the practice of law have been Stewart F. Houston, J. G. L. Abbott, Senator R. H. Clive Pringle, the Honourable John D. McMurrich of British Columbia, the Honourable Mr. Justice M. S. McCarthy (also M.P. for Calgary), D'Arcy Martin of Hamilton, and Charles S. MacInnes, K.C., LL.D., C.M.G., Fellow and Lecturer in Classics in Trinity College 1893-94.

Mention should also be made of Henry Campbell Osborne, and Harry Stevenson Southam, both graduates of '96 and active in the academic and athletic life of the College. Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne, A.D.C., was secretary to the Minister of Militia during the First World War, and was created a C.M.G. in 1918. As Secretary-General of the Imperial Graves Commission (Canadian group) he rendered valuable service to the Department of National Defence. In more recent years he contributed to the artistic life of the community as honorary director of the Dominion Drama Festival. Harry S. Southam, for the past thirty years publisher of the *Ottawa Citizen*, has been chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Canada and a patron of the arts. For many years he was Vice-President of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and one of the representatives for Trinity College on the Senate of the University of Toronto.

A memorable historical event which took place in Trinity College towards the end of Provost Body's régime was the formation of the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. The Senior Metropolitan of Canada, Bishop Lewis of Ontario, summoned the Synod to assemble at Trinity College on the thirteenth of September 1893, where it continued its deliberations for one week. Fourteen bishops, forty-one clerical and thirty-five lay delegates represented

the seventeen dioceses of Canada on that occasion. Many problems were discussed and a large proportion of them solved. Bishop Robert Machray of Rupert's Land was elected Primate of all Canada with the title of Archbishop, a designation that thereafter was to be applied also to the metropolitans of the four ecclesiastical provinces into which the Dominion of Canada was divided. In 1949, twenty-seven dioceses were represented at the seventeenth session of the General Synod held in Halifax.

Under Provost Body's scheme for the expansion of the University of Trinity College two needs were outstanding: first, an increase of income to provide for additions to the staff, and, secondly, the extension of the College buildings, if the hoped-for increase of students was to be attained. As has been pointed out, the Supplementary Endowment Fund now amounted to over \$110,000. The Chapel, the first addition to the College buildings, was built in 1884 at a cost of more than \$20,000. The corner-stone of the residential west wing was laid by the Bishop of Toronto on the twenty-second of November 1889, during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Diocese of Toronto. Erected at a cost of \$35,000, it was of white brick with stone trim in harmony with the older part of the building. It comprised sixty-five rooms for students and included quarters for the Dean, the Bursar, and several professors, with a reading room and physical and chemical laboratories for the proposed new science department, and a dressing room for the athletes. Besides these improvements, nearly \$20,000 was expended on much-needed repairs and additions to the older part of the College.

On the fifteenth of June 1894 the corner-stone of the new east wing was laid by the Governor-General, His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen, in the presence of a distinguished assemblage. It was designed to provide twenty additional rooms for resident students and a well-equipped gymnasium in the basement at a total outlay of \$20,000.

This occasion was the last public event in which Doctor Body took part as Provost. Three months previously he had submitted his resignation to take effect on the thirtieth of September 1894, in order to become Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York.

Throughout Provost Body's régime the revenues of the College steadily increased with the expenditures keeping pace. For 1881-82 the receipts were \$20,675 (including student fees of \$6,860); the expenditures \$20,332 inclusive of \$9,000 for salaries. In the Provost's last year, 1893-94, the receipts had increased to \$28,594 (fees \$11,700) and expenses amounted to \$20,546 (salaries \$14,150). The first-year enrolment increased proportionately, from an average of ten students annually for the decade 1871 to 1880, to an average of twenty-two yearly from 1881 to 1890. When the Provost came to Trinity in 1881, it was to a small College teaching Arts and Divinity; he left it, in 1894, a well-equipped University adequate for the needs of the community it served. Dr. Body died on the twentieth of September 1912.

That Provost Body undoubtedly exercised a markedly beneficial and permanent effect upon the history of Trinity is evidenced by the tribute paid to him by one who was associated with him as Professor of Divinity for three years:

Dr. Body gave *himself* to Trinity in complete and wholehearted loyalty. Those who were nearest to him know that the true welfare of Trinity was to Dr. Body not less than a personal and absorbing enthusiasm. In giving himself he brought to the leadership and direction of the College a high ideal of comprehensive and exact scholarship, a quick perception of opportunities and responsibilities that were ours, and a spirit of courage and singular hopefulness in the face of grave and constant difficulties which must beset and attend all true development in the world as we experience it. Bishop Strachan once said "In Trinity College I trust the Bible will ever occupy its true place as containing the whole revelation of God, the source of all our hopes and the safe foundation of all our teaching." No sentence could describe more accurately the source and inspiration of the second Provost's influence.¹⁹

¹⁹Reverend J. Charles Roper, D.D., in *The Review*, June 1902.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT:
1894-1904

BEFORE a successor to Dr. Body was appointed, a full year elapsed. In the meantime Professor William Jones was appointed acting Provost and Vice-Chancellor. In April 1895, the position was offered to the Reverend F. Wallis, M.A., of Caius College, Cambridge, and was being favourably considered when he was elected Bishop of Wellington, New Zealand. The Bishop of Ontario, Dr. Travers Lewis, was then asked to communicate with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Edward White Benson, and the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, in an effort to procure a Provost. Their joint recommendation resulted in the appointment of the Reverend Edward Ashurst Welch, Vicar of the Church of the Venerable Bede at Gateshead-on-Tyne, and formerly Chaplain to the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Joseph B. Lightfoot. Dr. Welch was a distinguished graduate of King's College School, London, and of King's College, Cambridge. He gained a first Classical Tripos in 1882, a second Theological Tripos in 1883, and was graduated M.A. 1885. The Provost took office on the first day of October, 1895, and was installed at a meeting of Convocation the following December, when the degree of D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) was conferred upon him.¹

During the preceding year several changes had taken place. Dr. Jones, on being appointed Bursar and Secretary to the

¹The University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, conferred on Provost Welch the degree of D.D. in 1900 and the University of Toronto that of LL.D. in 1909.

Corporation—he had been Registrar since 1875—resigned as Professor of Mathematics, a position he filled with conspicuous ability for thirty-two years. To fill this vacancy Michael Alexander Mackenzie, '87, a distinguished graduate of the College and scholar at Selwyn College, Cambridge, where he had been Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos, was appointed on October 1, 1895. Other additions to the staff were Professor Henry Montgomery to the Natural Science Department, and Walter Henry White, '90 (in his student days a holder of the Strachan, the Burnside, and the Jubilee Scholarships and the Prince of Wales Prize) to be Fellow and Lecturer in Classics, a position he held until October 1899.

Coming to this country from parochial work in a busy parish, the new Provost, for that reason as well as for his academic standing, was eminently fitted to undertake the duties of Dean of Divinity. Fortunately his work was considerably lightened by his having an able Dean of Residence, Professor Oswald Rigby, who had been appointed Professor of History in 1891 and Dean the following year. It had long been realized, even before Provost Body's time, that the dual position imposed duties and responsibilities too great for one man; but the financial problems of Trinity University were still such as not to warrant the division of the office. The depression of the nineties, partially the result of a land boom in the late eighties, was one of the worst this country, and particularly Toronto, had ever experienced. This fiscal stringency was soon reflected in the falling off in attendance, the average annual number of matriculants for the period 1895-99 being eighteen, the smallest in many years. Furthermore, the mismanagement of the finances of the College by a former official and the serious diminution in the revenue from investments aggravated the existing financial difficulties. The annual deficit in the budget, which had been

\$3,400 in the fiscal year 1894-95, increased to about \$11,000 per annum in the year 1899-1900.

The question of federation with the University of Toronto, although looked upon with disfavour by the majority of graduates and supporters of Trinity, was again to the fore. It was not a new thing. It had been suggested on several occasions, as has been referred to in a previous chapter.² But the unfavourable financial situation brought about the crisis which impelled serious consideration of the whole matter. At the beginning of his Provostship Dr. Welch was a determined opponent of any thought of federation. He held no narrow view of the University in its relation to the Church, but regarded Trinity as *the* University of the whole Church of England in Canada. After two years he became convinced that if Trinity was to fulfil the purpose of its Founder and be in fact, as well as in name, the College of the Church of England in Canada, the policy of federation had much to commend it. He was led to this opinion when he discovered that actually there were more members of the Church in the University of Toronto than in Trinity College and was convinced that if John Strachan had lived under present conditions, federation was the policy he himself would have chosen to follow. But the terms proposed by the Government up to that time had been considered impossible of acceptance by Trinity, one obstacle being the basis of compensation for the College site and buildings, and the providing of a new site in Queen's Park.

As has been pointed out, Dr. Welch's régime was a period of acute financial distress. But, instead of succumbing to the

²Chapter v. University Federation had been mooted as early as 1874 in a pamphlet entitled *University Consolidation*, a collection of speeches made at a College meeting in Toronto. It was discussed in an editorial in *Rouge et Noir* in 1885 (vol. VI, no. 1) and even at that date the idea had been met with favour by the students although not unanimously by the graduates. Then in 1894 the Reverend Herbert Symonds, '86, wrote a strong pamphlet in favour of supporting federation.

general depression, "the faithful few" carried on the work with undaunted courage and resolute purpose. The Literary Institute, dating from the Cobourg days before Trinity,³ was active and produced good debates on live subjects. A dramatic club, in which a future Provost, "Duke" Seager, was not only a competent manager, but also proved to be of unsuspected histrionic ability, had in six years achieved considerable success. Further interest in the College was stimulated by a new rule of Convocation whereby all Bachelors of Arts became eligible as full members of Convocation.

The public lectures, begun by Professor William Clark in 1886 and held in Convocation Hall, continued to be among the intellectual and social events of College life. They were given on Saturday afternoons early in the Lent Term upon subjects of general interest such as Kingsley's *Water Babies*, the life and work of Cowper and Carlyle, these given by Professor Clark; Robert Burns, by Principal Grant of Queen's University; Shakespeare and his influence on the English language, by the Reverend Canon Norman, Vice-Chancellor of Bishop's College; "Heathen Virtues and Theories of Life," by Professor Maurice Hutton of University College; and the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Reformation, by the Bishop of Western New York, the Right Reverend A. Cleveland Coxe.

Over the years the extent and scope of these lectures increased and, in addition to the course in the College, lectures were given to alumni associations which had been formed in many cities and towns in the Province. During the session of 1897-98 fifty lectures were given in centres such as Bowmanville, Port Hope, Brockville, Prescott, and Stratford. Fourteen of these centres had been visited by the Provost.

³The Literary Institute originated in the Debating Society formed at the Diocesan Institution at Cobourg in the forties, which continued at Trinity College when that Institution became the Faculty of Divinity in 1852. In 1854 the name of the Debating Society was changed to the Trinity College Literary Institute.

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Such widely diverse themes as Archbishop Laud, Cambridge, and George Eliot by the Provost; Oliver Goldsmith and Richard Brinsley Sheridan by Dean Rigby; the poetry of Browning and Tennyson, and Christian unity by the Reverend Herbert Symonds; Kipling and Sir John Mandeville by Professor Michael Mackenzie; and architecture, star-gazing, and Christian Socialism by the Reverend Charles H. Shortt provided subjects for some of the most popular lectures. According to the newspaper reports of the time these lectures were largely attended by members of the College and the public in general, Convocation Hall frequently being crowded to the doors.

The first issue of the *Trinity University Year Book*, under the editorship of Professor Michael A. Mackenzie and Professor A. H. Young, appeared about this time. A most useful compendium of information regarding the University, its graduates, its past and present officers, its scholarships and prize winners, and the College societies, the *Year Book's* discontinuance in 1928 was a loss alike to the University, its graduates, and its friends.

Important events during Provost Welch's régime included the gift of a handsomely carved Bishop's Chair by the Reverend Dr. William Jones in memory of his brother Major Charles Jones,⁴ of the Royal Artillery; the installation of brass tablets beneath the chancel windows in memory of the Founder and the first Chancellor; the presentation of a Litany Desk in memory of the Reverend Ogden Pulteney Ford, '68, Lecturer in Classics 1871-73; and of a tablet in memory of Algernon Boys, M.A., Professor of Classics 1878-90.⁵

The unveiling of a portrait of the Honourable George

⁴Charles Jones (1840-1896), son of Mr. Justice Jones, was the winner of the Wellington Scholarship in 1858, but joined the British Army before completing his Arts course. He died while on active service in Algiers.

⁵Professor Boys bequeathed his classical library, "1,000 volumes beautifully bound," to the College.

A H I S T O R Y O F T R I N I T Y C O L L E G E

William Allan, Chancellor 1877-1901, by Mr. (later Sir) Wyly Grier, R.C.A., D.C.L., in January 1897, and the opening of the St. Hilda's College building which had been erected from the designs of Mr. Eden Smith on the College grounds in 1899, were also milestones in the history of Trinity.

Some men in attendance during this period were later to bring honour to the College and distinction to themselves:

CHARLES ALLEN SEAGER (1872-1948), '95, M.A. '96, D.D. '14; LL.D. Toronto 1922, Western 1933; Provost, Trinity College, 1921-26; elected Bishop of Ontario 1926, Bishop of Huron 1932, Archbishop 1943.

HAROLD McCUSAULAND, '00, M.A. '09; Lieutenant-Colonel, First World War, served in France and Siberia, M.C.; Rector of Trinity Church, Bay City, Mich.

LEWIS WILMOT BOVELL BROUHALL, '97, M.A. '99, D.D. '26; Dean of Niagara, and Bishop 1933-49.

THOMAS HENDERSON WOOD, '96, M.A. '98; eminent business man and a generous benefactor of the College.

HENRY CRAWFORD GRIFFITH, '99, M.A. '02, LL.D. Toronto; Lecturer and Professor of French 1907-11; master and headmaster, Ridley College, 1911-49.

HAROLD STRUAN MUCKLESTON, '99, M.D. McGill 1905.

TEMPLE STANNAGE BOYLE, '98, M.A. '01; D.D. '10, Montreal Theological College 1911; D.C.L. King's, N.S., 1923; Dean of Divinity, Trinity College, 1912-16.

GERARD BRAKENRIDGE STRATHY, '00, M.A. '02, K.C.; Strachan Scholar 1897, Wellington Scholar 1898-99; member and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the College.

DERWYN TREVOR OWEN (1876-1947), Divinity '01; D.D. '16, Wycliffe 1931; D.C.L. Bishop's 1928; Dean of Niagara 1914, Bishop 1925; Bishop of Toronto 1932; Archbishop and Primate 1934-47.

WILLIAM JAMES BRAIN (1876-1931), '98, M.A. '01; Canon, Diocese of Toronto; founder of the mission of Wychwood, now the populous parish of St. Michael and All Angels, Toronto.

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ERIC TREVOR OWEN (1880-1948), '03, M.A. '04; Fellow, Lecturer in Classics 1903-12; Professor of Greek, Trinity College, 1912-23, University of Toronto, 1923-48.

ARTHUR READING KELLEY, '03, M.A. '04; Rector, St. Matthew's Church, Quebec; Canon of the Cathedral and Archivist of the Diocese of Quebec.⁶

REGINALD V. HARRIS, '02; Wellington Scholarship and Prince of Wales Prize; D.C.L. Bishop's 1923; Chancellor, Diocese of Nova Scotia, since 1922; delegate to Diocesan Synod since 1904, to Provincial Synod since 1923; delegate to General Synod since 1915, and elected deputy-Prolocutor and Prolocutor of the Lower House; Registrar of the General Synod; Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

During the same period, several graduates who had attained distinction and brought honour to the University passed to their reward. In 1895 the Reverend Henry William Davies died at the age of sixty-one. From Cornwall Grammar School he entered Trinity College on the opening day, was the first Burnside Scholar, 1854, B.A. '55, B.D. '65; he was the first graduate of Trinity to obtain the degree of Doctor of Divinity by examination (1870). Subsequently he was headmaster of Cornwall Grammar School, and master and headmaster of the Toronto Normal School 1866-84. A noted educationist and equally eminent as a Churchman, he was a warm supporter of Trinity College and its teaching and served on Corporation from 1881 to 1890. For a few months before his death he was Bursar of the College and Secretary to the Corporation. He was a nephew of Mrs. Guy Carleton Wood, sister-in-law of Mrs. John Strachan, the Bishop's wife.

A greatly distinguished son of Trinity was Archibald

⁶Arthur Reading Kelley had a remarkable career as an undergraduate. Entering College with the Bishop Strachan Scholarship and the S.P.G. Jubilee Scholarship, he won, during his Divinity course, the Divinity prizes, the Osler prize for reading, the general proficiency prize, and the prizes for New Testament Greek and Church History and the Hamilton Memorial for honours in Theology. He was president of the Lit. in 1903, editor of *The Review*, and scribe of Episkopon in 1905.

Lampman, a graduate of the year 1882, whose poetry brought to Canadian letters a wide distinction. Lampman came up from Trinity College School where he headed his class and had won the Wellington Scholarship. Fortune continued to favour him for he was graduated with honours. He might indeed have made a better showing than he did had he not shared the belief of Sir Walter Raleigh of Oxford that there were things to be had at a university no less worthy than academic prizes. Much of his time, and not always his leisure, as an undergraduate he spent in general reading and in writing for the College magazine, *Rouge et Noir*, of which he was editor in his final year, and in contributions to *The Week*. He was also Scribe of the two books of Episkopon for the years 1881 and 1882, when having "shaken the tiger's paw," he doffed cap and gown to try his fortune in the world outside.

His first published volume, *Among the Millet and Other Poems* (1888), earned for him the warm praise of the reviewers and the respect and admiration of his contemporaries. Five years later Copeland and Day of Boston issued his second book, *Lyrics of Earth*, a collection of poems following the sequence of the seasons. Lampman's work was already known in Canada through its appearance in *The Week*, edited by Charles G. D. Roberts, *Arcadia*, and the *Canadian Illustrated News*; and in the United States through the medium of *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*. A definitive edition of Lampman's poetry was published the year following his death, with a memoir by Duncan Campbell Scott. Both his friends Scott and William Wilfred Campbell were associated with him in the early nineties in the writing of a Saturday column for the *Globe* called "At the Mermaid Inn," inspired by tales of the Mermaid tavern in Shakespeare's London. The story of this unconventional collaboration is well told by Dr. Carl Y. Connor in his critical appraisal of the poet and his work published in

Aforul

late season, watcher in unvoiced suspense,
The frostless of the patient middle day,
~~Between~~-wild March's humoured pestilence
And the warm wooing of green-kirtled May,
Maid month of sunny peace and sober grey,
Leaver of flowers in sunward glades that ring
With murmur of libation to the sprung.

As memory of pain all past is peace,
And joy, dream-tasted, hath the deepest cheer,

So art thou sweetest of all months that lead
The twelve short spaces of the flying year.

The bloomless days are dead, and frozen fear
No more for many moons shall vex the earth,

Dreaming of summer and fruit-laden mirth

1929.⁷ Lampman, not unlike his favourite Keats, died in the pride of his young years on the tenth of February 1899, aged thirty-seven. A medallion, executed by his friend the sculptor Dr. Tait McKenzie in 1903, formerly on the south wall of the Chapel in the Old Trinity College on Queen Street, commemorates the poet in a corresponding place in the temporary chapel of the new Trinity in Queen's Park. A more signal and public mark of esteem was accorded him when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. A natural boulder, inscribed with his name, dates of birth and death, marks his last resting place in Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa. Only now is Archibald Lampman beginning to receive among Canadians the honour and recognition which his genius merits.⁸

In January 1900, Dr. E. A. Welch resigned as Provost. His withdrawal happened at a critical time for the College. The finances were at a low ebb and already serious consideration had been given to drastic economies, both by the reduction of the staff and their salaries and by the rental of vacant rooms in the College to outsiders to supplement its inadequate income.

Although Provost Welch had done heroic work in his position, there is no question that his heart lay in parish work. On the death in 1899 of the Right Reverend Bishop Sullivan, D.D., Rector of St. James' Cathedral since 1896, Provost Welch, then in his thirty-ninth year, and with a wealth of experience and a broad conception of the needs of the Church, was a logical choice as his successor. His resignation as Provost, tendered to the Corporation on the eighteenth of January, took effect on the first of February 1900. It was accepted with profound regret and with keen ap-

⁷Carl Y. Connor: *Archibald Lampman, Canadian Poet of Nature* (Montreal, 1929).

⁸A sympathetic appraisal of Lampman's poetry by Norman McGregor Guthrie was printed, unfortunately in a limited edition, by Musson in 1927. It may be read with pleasure and profit by student and general reader alike.

preciation of his five years of valuable and self-denying labours as Provost.

When, ten years later, Dr. Welch was invited to become Vicar of Wakefield, the loss to the community as well as to the Church was deeply felt. He had been keenly interested in many extra-parochial activities, such as the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Associated Charities, the Burial Reform Association, the Moral and Social Reform Council, the St. George's Society, and the Toronto Humane Society. He was also actively associated with the University of Toronto as a member of the Senate. "When he goes," said the *Globe*, "he will carry with him the esteem and confidence not only of his Church, but of all who take an interest in the things that make for peace and purity and nobleness of life."⁹

Dr. Welch was regarded as a great scholar and theologian by all who came in direct contact with him. He had all the attendant grace and charm of an English university man, and a true grasp of university ideals from the British standpoint. But New World methods such as public relations and publicity were contrary to his modest nature, his thought, and his vocabulary. A real grief to him was the indifference to Trinity and its advantages of Church of England people, many of whom sent their sons to the University of Toronto because of the better facilities in the natural sciences. As a profound believer in the great advantages of life in residence this was something he could not understand.

But the falling registration, which reached its lowest ebb in history in 1899, concerned him but little; his duty lay solely with the student body and particularly the Divinity men with whom he maintained a close personal relationship. He found it difficult, however, to adapt himself to certain phases of Canadian life and this did not enhance his popularity with the men; and yet, his apparent austerity concealed

⁹Dr. Welch died at Southend-on-Sea, Essex, on August 6, 1932, at the age of seventy-two.

a real kindness of heart and a sympathetic disposition. And, as many of his former students testify, it was a privilege to study under his guidance, for he was a man of high ideals and expected the same from his students.

The appointment of a Provost to succeed Dr. Welch came at a time when it was necessary to review the problems which confronted the College as well as to decide on some definite policy for the future. In looking for a suitable appointee the Corporation decided at the outset that the person selected *should* be a Canadian and *might* be either a priest or a layman of the Church of England. Among those considered for the position were the Reverend R. H. Starr, B.A. Victoria 1864, B.D. '82, D.D. '87, Professor in the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn.; the Reverend John Langtry, '54, D.C.L. (*honoris causa*), '92; and the Reverend Herbert Symonds, '86, Professor of Divinity 1889-92. Finally the unanimous choice fell upon the Reverend Thomas Clark Street Macklem, M.A. Cantab., of Toronto.¹⁰ Born in Canada of United Empire Loyalist stock and educated at Upper Canada College and St. John's College, Cambridge, his entire ministry had been in the Canadian Church. For two years he had been Curate at All Saints', Toronto, and, since 1888, Rector of St. Simon's Church. The Toronto *Globe* described him as a man of tact, with an aptitude for finance, possessing decision of character, statesmanship, and ability to lead.

Before coming to a decision Mr. Macklem submitted to the Corporation a brief setting forth his views upon the general policy which he believed the University of Trinity College should follow and which he made a condition of his acceptance.

At a special meeting called by Corporation, the views of the Provost-elect were submitted. They were almost un-

¹⁰Thomas Clark Street Macklem (1862-1944); deacon 1885, priest 1886; B.A. Cantab. 1887, M.A. 1896; D.D. (*honoris causa*) '01; LL.D. New Brunswick 1900, Toronto, 1904; D.C.L. Bishop's 1903; Provost and Vice-Chancellor, Trinity College, 1900-21.

A GROUP OF TRINITY MEN 1870

From left to right, standing, F. S. Checkley, W. H. Perram, R. L. M. Houston, C. L. Worrell, C. L. Ferguson;
seated: A. A. F. Wood, R. P. Palmer, C. J. Logan, J. B. Johnston



A GROUP OF TRINITY MEN 1879-1880

From left to right, standing: C. H. Shortt, J. C. Boyd, Jos. F. White, R. N. Jones;



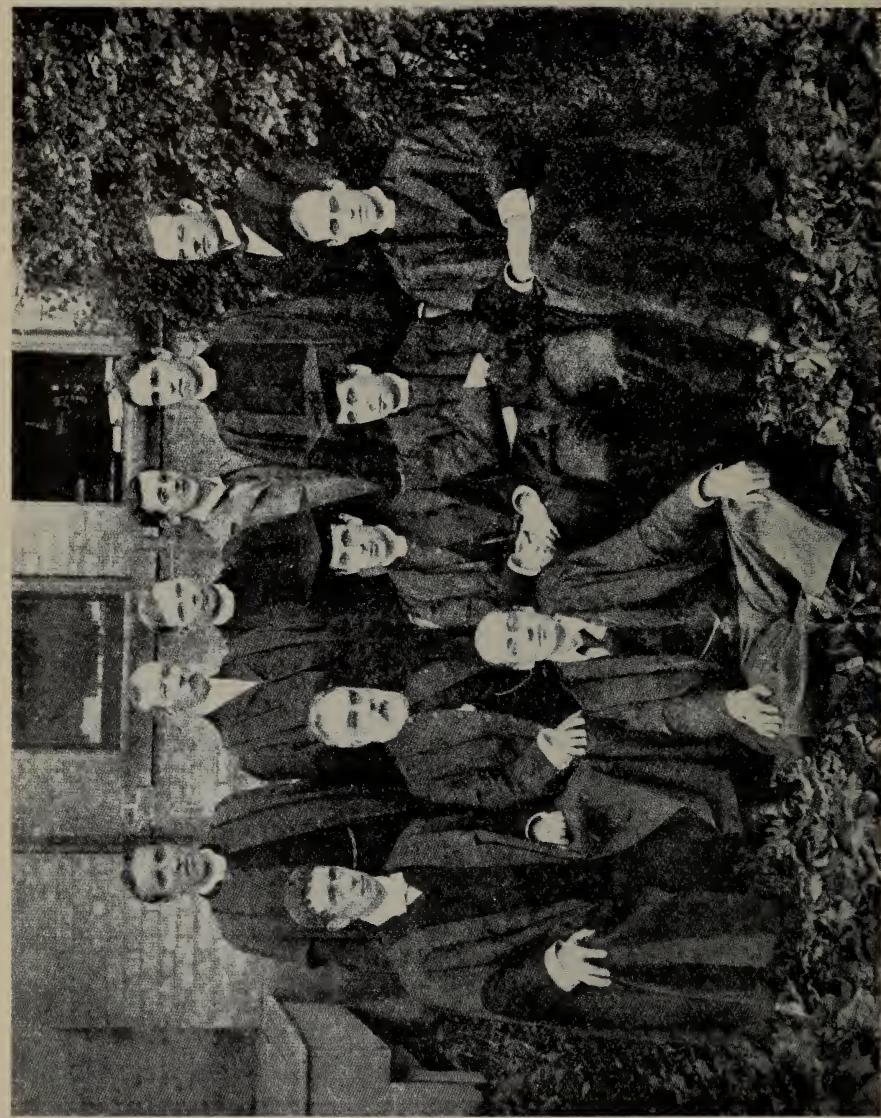
THE CLASS OF 1882

From left to right, *standing*: R. N. Hudspeth, A. S. Campbell, C. B. Kenrick, H. J. Godfrey, J. C. Davidson; *seated*: Archibald Lampman, T. O. Townley, John Carter, R. B. Beaumont; *in front*: C. H. Clementi, Kirwan Martin

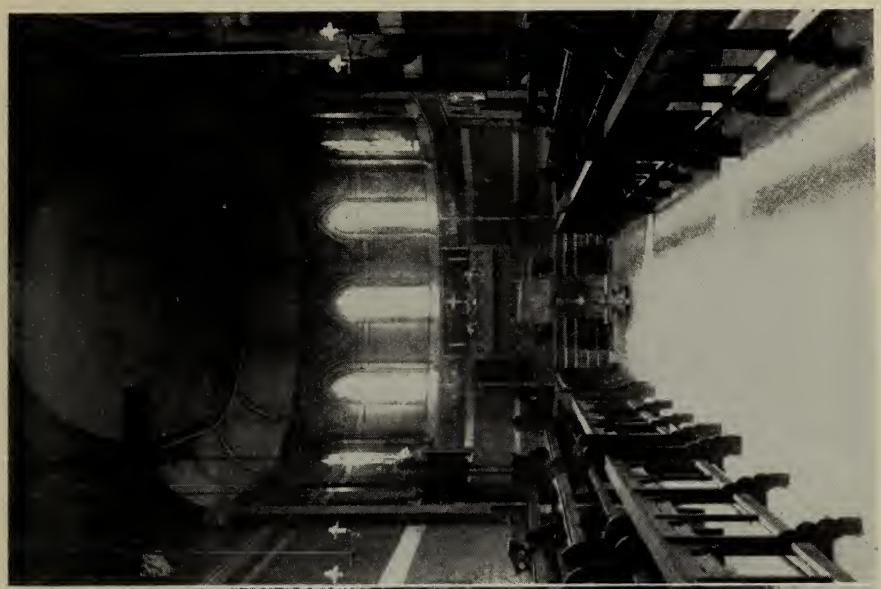


THE STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE 1899

From left to right, standing: H. H. Bedford-Jones, H. Montgomery, G. F. Davidson, M. A. Mackenzie, W. H. White, A. H. Young; seated: E. W. Huntingford, Dr. Wm. Jones, Provost Welch, Dean Rigby, E. C. Cayley; in front: H. C. Simpson; absent: Dr. Wm. Clark



THE CHAPEL 1884-1925





THE QUEEN STREET GATES 1904

THE GREEK PLAY, AT THE JUBILEE 1902

JAMES HENDERSON, M.A., D.C.L.

PROVOST C. W. E. BODY

From the portraits by E. Wylly Grier in Strachan Hall





PROFESSOR WILLIAM CLARK

DR. WILLIAM JONES

From the portraits by E. Wyly Grier in Strachan Hall

animously endorsed, and a resolution was passed pledging the hearty support of the Corporation in his endeavour to give effect to them. Mr. Macklem thereupon accepted the Provostship and entered upon his duties on the first day of May, 1900, at the same time taking up his residence in the College. On the eighteenth of the same month he was formally installed Vice-Chancellor of the University.

At the meeting of Corporation on the ninth of May two important measures were carried. One was the appointment of a Commission of three empowered to confer and complete negotiations with the Provincial Government and the University of Toronto looking to ultimate federation. For a time the negotiations seemed to progress rapidly but strong opposition blocked them for the time being.¹¹ The other was the constitution of a new Board of Endowment and Finances for Trinity University composed of men prominent in the business and financial world, which would endeavour to raise funds for a large supplementary endowment for the College, and enable Trinity to take that prominent place in the Federation which it was felt the representative College of the Church of England should occupy.

The Board of Endowment and Finances, to be an auxiliary of the Corporation, was a strong one and was to take in hand the entire management, investment, and control of all new funds raised for the proposed endowment. The new Board consisted of Mr. (later Sir) Edmund B. Osler, M.P., Mr. W. R. Brock, M.P., Mr. Joseph E. Seagram, M.P., James Henderson, Esq., D.C.L., Colonel (later Sir) Henry M. Pellatt, and the Provost; a year and a half later it was strengthened by the addition of Mr. (later Sir) William MacKenzie and Mr. Frederic Nicholls. It was the object of the Board to appeal for the sum of \$500,000, subscriptions to be conditional upon not less than \$250,000 being subscribed by the thirty-first of December 1903. At the annual meeting

¹¹See *infra*, p. 125.

of Corporation in October it was announced that \$60,000 of this amount had been subscribed by the members of the Board.

The year 1900-01 showed marked progress, and many changes. The death of the Chancellor, the Honourable George William Allan, D.C.L., on the twenty-fourth of July 1901, caused general sorrow and regret especially among those connected with Trinity who knew of his deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the College.¹²

The Reverend E. W. Huntingford, M.A., Professor of Classics since 1891, resigned his chair at Christmas 1899 and returned to England; the Reverend Edward C. Cayley's appointment to the rectory of St. Simon's Church in succession to the Provost, and that of the Reverend Gilbert F. Davidson¹³ to St. George's Church, Guelph, made two vacancies in the Faculty of Divinity. As Professor of Classics, G. Oswald Smith, M.A. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and more recently on the staff of Bishop's University, Lennoxville, was appointed in January 1901 to succeed Professor Huntingford. The vacancies in the Divinity staff were filled by the Reverend Arthur W. Jenks, M.A., B.D., of the General Theological Seminary, New York, and the Reverend H. T. F. Duckworth, M.A., of Merton College, Oxford.

The improvement in the finances of the College made possible the foundation of a Professorship in English, and two Fellowships in Philosophy and English. To the former was appointed the Reverend William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., whose name stood in the very forefront of English scholarship in England, Canada, and the United States. Dr. Clark retained

¹²George William Allan (1822-1901), D.C.L., F.R.G.S.; educated at Upper Canada College; called to the Bar 1846; Alderman and Mayor of Toronto 1855; M.L.C. 1858-67; Senator, Dominion of Canada, 1867-1901 (Speaker 1888-91); Chancellor, Trinity University, 1877-1901; Privy Councillor 1891. In 1897 the graduates and undergraduates presented to Trinity University his portrait by E. Wyly Grier, in recognition of his forty-five years of service to the University.

¹³Fellow in Divinity 1899.

the chair of Philosophy, which he had filled since his coming to Trinity in 1883, and had as his assistant in English Herbert Clayton Simpson, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, who had been lecturer in Chemistry and Physics since 1896. These new appointments relieved from extra duties Dean Rigby and Professor Archibald Hope Young, who, with the assistance of Professor Cayley, the Reverend H. H. Bedford-Jones, and the Reverend W. H. White, had undertaken the work in pass and honour English gratuitously for the furtherance of the College's interests during the lean years.

To the new Fellowship in Philosophy the Corporation appointed the Reverend Edward Ley King, an honour graduate of the University of Manitoba. In 1903 he became Lecturer in Divinity, a position he held until 1905, when he was appointed Vicar of St. Thomas' Church, Toronto.

At a special convocation held on the fifth of December 1901, the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *jure dignitatis*, was conferred on the Bishop-elect of the Philippine Islands, Charles Henry Brent, '84, already one of Trinity's most distinguished graduates. A brilliant scholar in classics throughout his college course and a man of saintly character, he was a recognized leader in the American Church, and held eleven honorary degrees in addition to that of his Alma Mater. He later declined the Bishoprics of Washington, D.C., and of New Jersey. He served as chairman on committees for the Philippine and the American Governments appointed for the suppression of the opium traffic. During the First World War he was Chief of Chaplain Services for the American Expeditionary Force, and in 1918 was elected Bishop of Western New York. In 1927 he was appointed President of the World Conference on Faith and Order. He died suddenly while on vacation in Lausanne, Switzerland, on the twenty-sixth of March 1929, at the age of sixty-seven. The Bishop's death caused universal sorrow in Europe where, in peace and

war, at Geneva and Stockholm, at Lausanne and on the battle fields of France, his Christ-like spirit was so potent an influence and an example to all Christians.

In 1902, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the College was celebrated with enthusiasm and appropriate ceremonies. The first event to mark the Jubilee year was the installation of the fourth Chancellor in Convocation Hall on the evening of the fifteenth of January, the actual date of the opening of the College in 1852. It was appropriate that the new Chancellor should be a distinguished son of the first occupant of that office. Mr. Christopher Robinson, K.C., was, like his father, the most eminent Canadian jurist of his day and had always been closely identified with Trinity and her interests.¹⁴ At his installation as Chancellor, there was conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law before a brilliant assemblage, the Reverend Professor Clark acting as Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellors of the University of Toronto, Victoria University, McMaster University, the Minister of Education for Ontario, Messrs. E. B. Osler, M.P., J.P. Whitney, K.C., later Premier of Ontario, H. M. Pellatt, and Dr. J. A. Worrell, K.C., were present and delivered congratulatory addresses suited to the occasion.

The Jubilee programme was arranged for the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth days of June 1902; to it friends and benefactors of the University were invited, together with former graduates, and representatives of all sister universities in Ontario and of universities of the Church of England throughout the Dominion. On the Sunday preceding, the clergy throughout Ontario were asked to preach sermons on religious education with special reference to Trinity College. Each day of the proceedings commenced

¹⁴Christopher Robinson (1828-1905), third son of the Honourable Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bt.; educated at Upper Canada College and King's College, Toronto (B.A. 1846); M.A. '53, D.C.L. '02; took an active part in Federation negotiations; died on the eve of All Saints' Day, October 31, 1905. He was an acknowledged leader of the Bar, but always declined high preferments including knighthood.

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with a celebration of Holy Communion in the College Chapel.

At 1.45 on the Monday the University luncheon took place in Convocation Hall with a large gathering of invited guests. The toast list was a short one: The King, Trinity, and the Sister Universities. Immediately afterwards the guests adjourned to the natural amphitheatre in front of the Provost's Lodge to witness the performance of *The Frogs* of Aristophanes by the students and staff of the College. It was directed by the Professor of Classics, G. Oswald Smith, with a well-trained chorus which sang effectively the admirable and beautiful incidental music composed by the Reverend G. F. Davidson, '95, and Professor Arthur W. Jenks, and altogether justified the many months of hard work on the part of the performers.

The cast included members of the staff, graduates, and undergraduates. The leading parts were taken by Eric T. Owen, '03, as Dionysus, Patron Deity; H. F. D. Woodcock, '02, as Xanthias, his slave; A. R. Kelley, '03, as Æacus, judge of the lower world. To Allan E. Taylor, '02, was assigned the part of Pluto, but of this more presently. F. G. Allen and W. S. Greening combined to form one of the most remarkable donkeys ever perpetrated on the Canadian stage. Allen portrayed the head, Greening the nether extremity. They gave Xanthias a most uncomfortable ride. Among others in the large cast were Professor H. T. F. Duckworth; the Reverend R. B. Nevitt, '00; J. D. Dunfield, '02; E. M. Sait, '02; W. E. Kidd, '02; F. N. Creighton, '03; C. C. Robinson, '04; and Lloyd C. A. Hodgins, '04.

The dramatic critic on the *Globe* was evidently impressed with the performance and wrote as follows:

The Frogs of Aristophanes presented a very considerable amount of amusing action and the business of the actors was very clever so that their work, aided by the witty translation of Professor E. W. Huntingford, proved not only intelligible but extremely amusing to the audi-

ence. The open air scene, the naïve and ingenuous simplicity of the stage setting, the vivacity of the action, the beauty of the Greek costumes, the fine musical effect of the choruses combined to make the experiment a triumphant success.¹⁵

An unexpected summons to several of the soldier students on account of the street railway strike caused some confusion on the day of the play. At the last minute Professor Michael A. Mackenzie was pressed into service to take the place of Taylor, one of the military officers called out. At one point, forgetting his lines, he had the presence of mind to repeat, to the amusement of the cast, a verse of *Met' Agona*, which, he often said, was the only Greek he remembered.

The annual meeting of the St. Hilda's College Alumnae Association and an informal reception for the members of the staff and the men of Trinity in the evening, at which the Reverend Dr. Body, the founder of St. Hilda's, was present, concluded the proceedings of the first day.

A cricket match, a garden party (partly marred by a heavy downpour of rain), and a reunion of the men graduates on Tuesday imparted to the College halls and grounds a gay and festive atmosphere.

On the Wednesday a special Convocation was held for conferring the M.A. degrees and the honorary degrees of D.C.L. and D.D. These included, for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *jure dignitatis*: the Very Reverend Lewis Evans, '66, Dean of Montreal; the Very Reverend Frank Vernon, '93, Dean of Portland, Maine. For the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, *honoris causa*, were presented the following representatives of the six Dioceses of the Church of England in Ontario: the Venerable Thomas Llwyd, Archdeacon of Algoma; the Reverend Garland Crawford Mackenzie, Rural Dean of Brant (Diocese of Huron); the Very Reverend Stewart Houston, '57, Dean of Niagara; the Venerable Clarendon Lamb Worrell, '73, Archdeacon of Ontario; the

¹⁵Globe, June 24, 1902.

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Venerable James John Bogert, '55, Archdeacon of Ottawa; the Venerable Thomas William Allen, '61, Archdeacon of Peterborough; the Venerable Samuel Johnson Boddy, Archdeacon of York. For the same degree, in recognition of distinguished service in the cause of Education, the following were presented: the Honourable Richard Harcourt, M.A., Minister of Education for Ontario; William Osler, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P., Physician-in-Chief, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; the Reverend John Ormsby Miller, M.A., Principal of Ridley College, St. Catharines, Ontario; James Bain, Esq., M.A., Chief Librarian, Toronto Public Library; the Reverend James Pounder Whitney, M.A., D.C.L., Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec. The following distinguished Canadians also received this degree: the Honourable Sir Oliver Mowat, G.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; the Honourable Sir John Boyd, K.C.M.G., Chancellor of Ontario; the Honourable Mr. Justice Irving, Victoria, B.C.; His Honour Judge Senkler, Perth, Ontario; James Pliny Whitney, K.C., M.P.P., Morrisburg, Ontario; Edward Douglas Armour, Esq., K.C., Toronto. The degree of Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*, was conferred on J. Humfrey Anger, Mus. Bac. Oxon., of Toronto, and that of Master of Arts, *honoris causa*, on the Reverend Francis W. C. Kennedy, of Japan. Replies on behalf of the several groups were made by the Very Reverend Dean Houston, the Honourable Richard Harcourt, Dr. (later Sir) William Osler, J. P. Whitney, Esq., and Dr. J. Humfrey Anger.

The celebration closed with a service of Thanksgiving in St. James' Cathedral on the Wednesday evening with a sermon by the Right Reverend John Philip DuMoulin, Lord Bishop of Niagara, on the importance of knowledge and the relation of religion thereto.

The end of the fiftieth year of the College showed that in that period there had been granted 3,178 degrees in course,

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as follows: Arts 943, Medicine 1,767, Law 178, Music 182, Divinity 56, Dentistry 49, Pharmacy 3.

The negotiations looking towards federation with the University of Toronto, which had been blocked by the University Act of 1901, did not in any way deter the Provost and the Corporation from continuing their efforts in this, one of the main conditions contingent upon Dr. Macklem's acceptance of the Provostship in 1900. It might be well at this point to review the situation.

Within a week after Dr. Macklem's appointment as Provost in May 1900 the Corporation passed a resolution authorizing negotiations with the Provincial Government to consider federation on the following basis:

1. All Federated Colleges in Arts to stand in the same relation to the Provincial University, with the proviso that present undergraduates should be allowed to proceed to their degrees under the regulations in force at the time of their matriculation.
2. Each College and Faculty to retain in perpetuity the right to vote separately for representatives on the Senate of the University.
3. Each College and Faculty to agree on Courses of Instruction (on a common basis) with the stipulation that University Lectures should be delivered (or duplicated) in any federated College when necessary.
4. In order to enable Trinity as a federated college to move into Queen's Park, Trinity College to agree to hand over its present site of thirty-one acres and extensive College buildings to the Government, in exchange for \$400,000 and a suitable site in Queen's Park of sufficient size for College purposes.
5. Failing mutual agreement upon these lines alternative propositions may be considered.

The Commission appointed to negotiate with the Government consisted of the Provost, Dr. Macklem, Edward Martin, K.C., D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '91, Chancellor of the Diocese of Niagara, and John Austin Worrell '71, K.C., B.C.L. '80, D.C.L. '98, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the College and Chancellor of the Diocese of Toronto.¹⁶

¹⁶Dr. Worrell was to become fourth Chancellor of the University of Trinity College in November 1914, a position he held until his death in February 1927.

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In the preliminary discussions with the Premier, the Honourable George W. Ross, who had also been Minister of Education for Ontario since 1883, the Committee found a more friendly and receptive attitude on the part of the Government,¹⁷ except in regard to the clause in the resolution referring to the purchase by the Government of the site and buildings of the College on Queen Street West and the providing of a site in Queen's Park. But when the University Bill of 1901 came up for discussion in the House, the other Colleges and the University of Toronto strongly objected to some of the clauses essential to the safeguarding of Trinity's interests. Amendments were introduced at the third reading that might have led to the undoing of all that Trinity would have gained by the Act. One serious obstacle was the proviso that while the terms of federation would be binding upon Trinity they would not be binding on the University of Toronto. So, for the time being the conditions of the bill were not entirely acceptable to Trinity.

After an interval of more than a year negotiations were resumed, as provided for in the Act of 1901, this time with the Trustees of the University of Toronto. By the summer of 1903 the Commission was able to report that, except for a few unimportant details which still remained to be discussed, an agreement had been reached between the representatives of the two Universities which embodied the acceptance of every principle for which Trinity had been contending and provided for everything which Trinity could reasonably expect to gain by the proposed Federation.

The Commission in its report also referred with appreciation to the most courteous consideration with which Trinity's representations had been received by, first, the Government, and latterly, by the University. This fact was mentioned because it seemed to augur well for harmonious co-operation in the future.

¹⁷See chapter v, *supra*, p. 117.

The main features of the new agreement gave Trinity College the right to provide for its students religious instruction and influences in accordance with the teachings of the Church of England. It provided that the curriculum in Arts of the University should include the subjects of Biblical Greek, Biblical Literature, Christian Ethics, Apologetics, the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, and Church History, distributed as evenly as possible over the years of the courses, with the examination and instruction in these subjects entirely in the hands of the several Colleges as heretofore. Optional subjects were to be provided also for any of the above-named courses.

In the clause of the Act which provided against religious tests in the University of Toronto the rights of the federated Colleges were secured by the following rider: "Nothing herein contained shall be considered as interfering with the rights of any federated University or federated College to make such provision in regard to religious instruction and worship for its own students as it may deem proper."

The distinction between College subjects and University subjects which had already been inserted in the Act of 1901 was again stated as follows: *College subjects*: Theology, Greek, Latin, Ancient History, English, French, German, Oriental Languages, and Ethics; *University subjects*: Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Biology, Physiology, History, Ethnology, Philology, Italian and Spanish, Philosophy, Psychology, Logic, Metaphysics, Education, Political Science, Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, and Constitutional History.

The advantages to the students of a comparatively small College in the larger Federation were obvious. The new system provided free access to many expensive courses of instruction and to scientific laboratories and museums which could only be provided by a smaller institution at immense cost.

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Provision was also made for the duplication of certain lectures where the number of students in Trinity College warranted it, all costs in this connection to be met by the Government; the transfer to the University staff of certain professors and other instructors under equitable terms; and the provision of a suitable site, free of charge, on or near Queen's Park on which to erect a building to serve as a centre for Trinity students.

One other important amalgamation was provided for, namely in the case of Trinity Medical College which, since 1871, had been in close affiliation with Trinity University and had acquired and maintained a high reputation. As a first step Trinity Medical College became in fact as well as in name the Medical Faculty of Trinity University and the College charter was surrendered to Trinity University to be held in abeyance as long as the Act of Federation was in force. All teaching in Medicine was discontinued, provision having been made for the amalgamation of the Trinity faculty with the Medical Faculty of the University of Toronto, which union was brought about during the summer of 1903. The Medical Building was opened on the first of October when the inaugural address of the new Faculty of Medicine was delivered by a former student of Trinity, Professor (later Sir) William Osler, D.C.L. '02, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The report of the Commission on federation was presented to the Corporation on the twenty-fifth of June 1903, and adopted by that body. At a meeting of the graduates and friends of Trinity College held in Convocation Hall on the thirtieth of July, the following resolution was moved:

1. That the policy is in the best interests of our Church University and will serve to promote the well-being of Higher Education generally in Ontario;
2. That the position of the Church of England in this Province will be strengthened thereby and her highest welfare promoted;

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3. That under the altered conditions of today the purpose and intentions of the Founder and the original Benefactors of the University of Trinity College can be better served and the sacred trust reposed by them in the Bishops of the Province and in the University Corporation more faithfully fulfilled, by this policy than in any other way.

This resolution was carried by a vote of 121 to 73. The agreement between the University of Toronto and the University of Trinity College was completed and the seal of the College affixed on the first of October 1903. It was proclaimed by the Lieutenant-Governor on the eighteenth of November, to come into effect on the first day of October 1904.

It will be noticed that the vote in favour of Federation was not unanimous. The nays were thirty-seven per cent of those who attended the meeting on the thirtieth of July and some of them were men prominent in the Church as well as in College affairs. Many of those who voted in favour of Federation did so reluctantly, realizing that it seemed the only practical way of solving Trinity's many problems. Their feeling was well expressed in a letter written to the Provost by the Bishop of Toronto, the Right Reverend Arthur Sweatman, than whom Trinity never had a better friend. Elected to the Bishopric of Toronto in 1879 he, throughout his long episcopate of thirty years, attended the meetings of the Corporation regularly and presided as chairman. In this letter, dated the eighth of July 1903, after deplored the suspension of University powers as "a calamitous necessity," and referring to "my first great predecessor," the Founder, the Bishop went on:

But it appears to my mind, after reviewing the past history of Trinity, that the intentions of the Founder were frustrated and set aside before I was called to the Diocese, when the party attacks upon the teaching of the College led to the establishment of a rival Church of England seminary in Huron College, London, and that this frustration was further accomplished by the subsequent establishment of Wycliffe College.

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I am convinced too that the divisions in the Church, during the period when these two rival institutions were brought into being, are largely responsible for that lack of support, financial and otherwise, accorded to Trinity University which has reduced it to the position which has made federation with the Provincial University a practically vital necessity.

In spite of the favourable terms of the Federation agreement the "die-hards" did not give up without a struggle, and application was made in the High Court of Justice for an injunction to restrain the College authorities from completing the agreement. The case came up for trial early in the autumn but the protesting element failed in their efforts. The injunction was dissolved by the Court on the thirtieth of September.

The only serious result of this opposition was its effect on the campaign for funds then being carried on by the Board of Endowment and Finances. By this action the Board was seriously handicapped in its appeal and it was found necessary to extend the time limit to the thirty-first of December 1905, in order to secure the desired quarter of a million dollars. During the year ending the thirtieth of September 1904 less than \$20,000 had been subscribed, bringing the total amount to \$158,594 or over \$90,000 short of the objective.

On the other hand, due to the increased number of students the financial position of the College was steadily improving. The number of matriculants increased from twenty-two in October 1900 to fifty-five in 1904, while the total registration for 1903-4 was 134, namely, ninety-two in residence and forty-two non-residents. The income increased in consequence, but the annual expenditures were still considerably in excess of the receipts to the amount of from five to six thousand dollars. This deficiency was met to some extent by income derived from the new endowment fund. Even so a general rise in the cost of living and necessary additions to the staff required continual vigilance over the

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expenditures of the College if Trinity was to come out on the right side of the ledger. It was only by a substantial increase in the endowment that a sound financial basis could be hoped for.

In September 1904, Canada was honoured by a visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the most Reverend Randall Thomas Davidson. The University of Toronto, at a special Convocation, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, for which he was presented to the Chancellor, Sir William Ralph Meredith, by the Chancellor of Trinity University, Dr. Christopher Robinson, K.C. Later in the same day the Synod of the Diocese held a reception for His Grace at Trinity College.

The last general Convocation of the University of Trinity College for the conferring of degrees in Medicine, Arts, Law, and Music was held on the twenty-ninth of September 1904. It was a memorable occasion. Forty-one received the M.A. degree, thirty-one (including sixteen from St. Hilda's) that of Bachelor of Arts; three, B.C.L.; one, D.C.L.; one, M.D.; one, Bachelor of Divinity; three, Licentiate of Theology; and three, Bachelor of Music. The Chancellor, Christopher Robinson, K.C., presided and among the distinguished guests were the Right Reverend C. H. Brent, '84, D.D. '01, Bishop of the Philippine Islands, and the Reverend E. A. Welch, D.D., former Provost.

Hereafter, as long as Trinity College remained in federation with the University of Toronto, she relinquished her rights as a University to grant degrees, as heretofore, in Arts, Medicine, Law, Music, Pharmacy, and Dentistry, and confers degrees only in Divinity. There are still some graduates who think Trinity in Federation has lost more than she gave. Others are certain that the Founder himself would have approved of the union of the two Universities founded by him, and that in union Trinity will contribute to the corporate life of the University the influence of those principles upheld by John Strachan.

CHAPTER VII

FROM FEDERATION TO REMOVAL: 1904-1925

HE COLLEGE YEAR 1904-1905 was marked by the most significant changes in the history of Trinity; it was the first year under Federation, and it was the first year when a graduating class, under the new dispensation, received its sheepskins from the University of Toronto. It was also the fifth year of the fourth Provost, Dr. Thomas Clark Street Macklem.

These were years of transition; the old order was being unceremoniously ushered out, and the new order fast becoming an established fact. The general appearance of the grounds and buildings had been greatly improved by new walks, a handsome iron fence, and impressive wrought-iron entrance gates; the gates, suitably inscribed to the Founder in stately Latin, were appropriately dedicated on St. Peter's Day. A former private residence with five acres of land, to the east of the College, was acquired from the Bickford estate to provide urgently needed accommodation for the first-year men. An increased enrolment filling residences augured well for the future.

But it was soon realized that the perennial insistent demand for a balanced budget still had to be met. The loss of fees for examinations and degrees in Arts and Medicine on the one hand, and mounting expenses, including augmented salaries of an enlarged staff, on the other, posed acute and perplexing, if not vexatious, problems in College finance—problems not to be solved by Federation as some of its more enthusiastic proponents had prophesied.

The change in the curriculum, the additional year added to the former three-year course, the shorter annual session (examinations early in May instead of late in June), the duplication of some lectures, and the travelling to and fro for others, sometimes at inconvenient hours for Trinity students, created a situation at times well-nigh intolerable.

Free transportation to Queen's Park was considered at first, and the College authorities went so far as to acquire, at a cost of \$1,707, a piece of land on the south side of Arthur (now Dundas) Street to provide a right of way to the rear of the College buildings for a possible special street-car or bus service. This scheme having proved unworkable, the University of Toronto provided funds to cover the cost of street-car fares for Trinity students obliged to take lectures and attend laboratories at the University.

Through the co-operation of the staff of the two institutions, many of these grievances were in time removed. But the science lectures were not duplicated, and this omission added greatly to the inconvenience of the honour students in these courses. Moreover, the change from Trinity's three-year course in Arts to the University's four years with earlier examinations, seriously affected Trinity's athletic traditions and particularly cricket games, which had been maintained since the foundation of the College. The holding of final examinations in May instead of June prevented both cricket practice and the arrangement of matches, as well as spring training in other sports.

Viewing the ten-year period from Dr. Macklem's appointment as Provost, however, one finds the general picture one of increasing vigour and expansion. In the academic year beginning in September 1909 the enrolment had increased to 180: eighty-eight men and sixty-one women in Arts and thirty-one men in Divinity. Including thirty-six of the Arts men, there were sixty-seven proceeding to Holy Orders. Students' fees in the same year amounted to \$24,385, while

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the salaries of the staff had reached a total of \$18,461. The over-all expenses of the College, however, resulted in a deficit for the year of \$12,000, the largest in its history up to that time, a sum which could only be met from subscriptions raised by Convocation and from the funds collected by the Board of Endowment and Finances under the chairmanship of Mr. E. B. Osler.

During this period the staff had been greatly strengthened by the appointment of young and vigorous men, many of whom made their influence felt in the life and work of the College. Among them might be mentioned Harold Victor Routh, B.A. Cantab., Lecturer in Classics and German 1905-7, Professor of Latin 1907-12; George Oswald Smith, Professor of Classics from 1901 to 1907, when he joined the staff of the University of Toronto; the Reverend H. T. F. Duckworth (a master of Greek and Latin), Professor of Divinity 1901-7, Lecturer and Professor of Classics 1904-27, Dean of Residence 1903-14, Dean of Arts 1914-23; the Reverend Arthur Whipple Jenks, also Professor of Divinity 1901-10; George Sidney Brett, M.A. Oxon., Lecturer in Classics 1908, Professor of Ethics 1909-21; Eric Trevor Owen, Lecturer in Classics 1903, Professor of Greek 1912-23; Henry Crawford Griffith, Lecturer and Professor of French 1907-11; John Neville Woodcock, Lecturer in Classics 1907, Professor 1919-39; William Alexander Kirkwood, M.A., Ph.D. Harvard, Lecturer 1909 and Professor of Latin 1912-39, Registrar 1914-22, and Dean of Arts 1923-43; and the Reverend Francis Herbert Cosgrave, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, Lecturer in Hebrew 1907, and Professor in 1909, Dean of Divinity in 1916, and finally Provost of Trinity College from 1926 until his retirement in 1945, when he was succeeded by the present Provost, Dr. R. S. K. Seeley.

Among other changes severely felt was the withdrawal from active work of Professor William Clark, D.C.L., in 1908, after a long period of twenty-five years; the removal to

the University of Toronto, under the Federation agreement, of Michael Alexander Mackenzie, Professor of Mathematics since 1895, who, apart from his genius as a teacher, maintained throughout a busy life a keen interest in athletics of the College and the University; and of Henry Montgomery, Professor of Natural Science.

A striking thing about many of these men was their intense loyalty to the College. They were brilliant scholars in their respective branches and could have commanded large salaries in more flourishing universities either in Canada or in the United States, but they were content to accept the modest remuneration that the College could afford in order to contribute of their best to the education of the young men who came up to Trinity.

The liberality in time and effort and money of Mr. (afterward Sir) Edmund B. Osler and his associates on the Board of Endowment and Finances cannot be overlooked. In May 1905, Sir Henry Pellatt (he was knighted in 1905) expressed his willingness to accept the position of honorary financial director if the College, through its graduates, Convocation, and other organizations, would undertake to raise the sum of not less than ten thousand dollars annually for a period of five years, the estimated deficit for that period.

Up to the thirtieth of September 1905, the Board of Endowment had raised the sum of \$158,594 out of which it acquired the Bickford house and the five acres of land east of the College property for \$26,000; it had paid to the Trinity Medical College for the surrender of its charter, \$4,706.75; and had expended for improvements to the grounds, including the iron fence and entrance gates, \$5,371. It had also invested \$25,000, provided for bursaries to the extent of \$1,000, and had paid to the Bursar to meet current expenses the sum of \$9,171.

Shortly after the Federation agreement had been completed the Whitney Government, which came into power

in February 1905, appointed a Royal Commission to examine the whole University situation, including the relationship of the affiliated Colleges to the University of Toronto. The Commission consisted of Mr. J. W. (afterward Sir Joseph) Flavelle as Chairman; Professor Goldwin Smith; the Chancellor, Sir William Meredith; Mr. B. E. (afterward Sir Edmund) Walker; the Reverend Henry John Cody, a distinguished scholar and graduate of the University who afterwards became a member of the Board of Governors, and who was successively Chairman of the Board, President, and finally Chancellor of the University; the Reverend Donald Bruce Macdonald, an eminent educationist; and Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, journalist and subsequently Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario, as secretary. The scope of the Commission was such that Trinity became vitally interested in many of the questions to be discussed. To protect her interests Mr. Justice Featherstone Osler, Sir Henry M. Pellatt, Mr. J. A. Worrell, K.C., Canon E. A. Welch, D.D., D.C.L., a former Provost, and Mr. N. F. Davidson, were appointed a committee to observe and report the proceedings of the Commission.

The personnel of the Commission, a distinguished one, took their responsibilities seriously. After seventy-seven meetings the Commission submitted an exhaustive report which was virtually embodied in the University Act adopted by the Legislature in June 1906. It contained several sections relative to Trinity which showed a sympathetic interest in her problems and again brought to the fore the much-debated question of her removal. In the Act the rights of Trinity were acknowledged and provision was made for a site for the College on the grounds of the Provincial University, at any time it might be deemed advisable to move to Queen's Park. Further than this, the Ontario Government provided for a loan to the College, if needed, and permission for it to borrow on the Queen Street property such sum of

money as might be deemed requisite in order to carry out the removal.

These generous terms, in marked contrast to the niggardly policy of former Governments, prompted the chairman of the Commission to request the College to take up again the question of removal. Provost Macklem, from whose mind the ultimate transfer of the College from Queen Street to Queen's Park was never absent, immediately circularized all members of the Corporation and Convocation, the graduates in Arts, many clergymen, and the recent subscribers to the College funds. The replies showed 126 in favour of removal, seventy-four opposed; sixty-nine were non-committal, and four declined to express an opinion. Those in favour stressed the existing inconvenience to the student body, the desirability of a closer contact with the University whereby Trinity would be able to wield a stronger influence than she could hope to do in her then isolated position, and the wisdom of her availing herself of the advantageous terms offered. These privileges included a site free from taxation, the use of the extensive University library, and the laboratories, the gymnasium, and other buildings, all of which would make unnecessary large expenditures by Trinity for new buildings, or the modernization of the old. Those against the removal stressed the great expense involved, the smallness of the site proposed, which provided no playing fields (with the consequent adverse effect upon College athletics), the departure from the promise to give Federation a four years' trial and, above all, the probable loss to Trinity of her identity, her individuality, and old associations, as well as the weakening of disciplinary control and Church influence.

It is worthy of note that, during this discussion, there passed to his rest on the twenty-second of August 1906, full of honours and ripened wisdom, the leader of the forces against Federation, the venerable Archdeacon John Langtry,

M.A., D.C.L. Dr. Langtry was born near Burlington, Ontario, in 1832, and entered Trinity on her opening day. He was thus not only the first graduate of Trinity College (B.A. '54), but was the first graduate of the College to be ordained by Bishop Strachan (January 1855). For three years he was the travelling missionary in Simcoe and Grey counties, then incumbent of Collingwood, and curate for a year at St. Paul's, Toronto, before founding in 1870 the parish of St. Luke, in a then new residential district in Toronto between College and Bloor Streets. Dr. Langtry was also instrumental in establishing in 1867 the Bishop Strachan School for girls (the first of its kind in Ontario), and a Church school for boys. The holder of many offices in the Synods of his Church, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from his Alma Mater in 1892, and that of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec. He excelled as an extempore preacher, as a controversialist, as a writer on many subjects, and was a prominent member of the College Council from 1880 until his death. In 1905 he was appointed Archdeacon of York. Like the Founder of the College and the first Provost, though he met with many reverses, he never acknowledged defeat but fought to the very end, fearless and unflagging in his devotion to the Church and to the cause of religious education.

The year 1907 brought another change of great moment to the College, the death of Dr. William Jones, student at Trinity from 1855 to 1857; B.A. Cantab. 1862; Professor of Mathematics at Trinity 1863-95; Registrar 1875-1907; Dean 1875-91; acting Provost and Vice-Chancellor, 1894-95; Bursar and Secretary to the Corporation from 1895 until his death on the seventh of October. *The Review* paid tribute to Dr. Jones in these words: "To live almost the Psalmist's allotted span of life, to serve continuously and faithfully in one place for nearly five and forty years, to do his duty con-

scientiously and to win the esteem and respect of the majority of those with whom he had to do, may well be accounted an enviable thing for any man. Such was the lot of Dr. William Jones."

But his death was the passing of an institution. Trinity without "Polly" was unthinkable. He was a kindly old bachelor, good in finance and "given to hospitality," who made it not only a point but a solemn duty as Dean to entertain every undergraduate in turn in his comfortable quarters, for a time in Deneside, as the Provost's Lodge to the north of the College was called, and later in the suite of rooms at the southwest corner of the College buildings. His name, too, will long be remembered for his generosity to St. Hilda's and his influence on its behalf. His portrait by Sir Wyly Grier, R.C.A., now in Strachan Hall, was unveiled in the old College in November 1905.

A graduate of 1908 who achieved great distinction in the scientific world was the late Lawrence V. Redman. His outstanding success in the field of chemical research was rewarded by the Grasselli Medal in 1931 and the degree of Doctor of Science (*honoris causa*) from the University of Toronto. He also held the high office of President of the American Chemical Society for 1932. While the greater part of his professional life was spent in the United States, he always remembered the land of his birth and his College with strong affection. He died on the twenty-fifth of November 1946 and by his will bequeathed a substantial legacy to Trinity.

The Provost's report for 1908-9, an optimistic one, stated that after four years' experience it was felt that Federation had been fully justified; that while the present educational conditions were not perfect they were far better than the old. The enrolment had increased and was now 185, including ninety-five men in residence and forty women. To provide accommodation for the women, the Provost's Lodge

had been taken over by St. Hilda's College for an additional residence.

Early in 1909, the committee on removal reported that after negotiations with the University extending over the past two and a half years a suitable site for the College on Hoskin Avenue and for St. Hilda's College on the west side of Devonshire Place had been offered finally by the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto, the sites to be free of ground rent, taxation, and all other charges as long as Trinity College remained in federation with the University. It was stipulated by the Board, however, that the removal to Queen's Park should take place within five years, the Government undertaking to guarantee the repayment of any funds borrowed for new buildings.

With Federation achieved, the Provost proffered his resignation on the grounds that he had accepted the position as Provost and Vice-Chancellor nine years before with the declared purpose of bringing about the federation of Trinity College with the University of Toronto. This he had accomplished. Such pressure, however, was immediately brought to bear upon him by the Corporation, the staff, the undergraduates, and many friends of the College, that he was prevailed upon to withdraw his resignation and to continue for a time at least as Provost.

To relieve him of a portion of his heavy duties the office of Vice-Provost was revived after a lapse of some forty-five years. To this position the Reverend John P. D. Llwyd, B.D. '05, D.D. '08, was appointed on the first of October 1909. The main purpose of his appointment was to raise money to increase the endowment of the College. In the three following years Dr. Llwyd travelled from Winnipeg to Quebec, and from Toronto to New York, and, in addition, made three trips to England. The entire sum obtained in cash and subscriptions amounted to more than \$156,000 for the Endowment and \$12,660 for the Convocation Fund, a magnifi-

cent showing at that time. In October 1912 Dr. Llwyd resigned to become Canon-in-Residence and Vicar of All Saints' Cathedral, Halifax, and, in 1913, Dean of Nova Scotia.

Early in 1910 a movement to induce a closer relationship between Wycliffe College and Trinity was initiated and a committee was appointed consisting of the Archbishop of Ottawa (Dr. Charles Hamilton), Bishop James Fielding Sweeny of Toronto, the Vice-Provost of Trinity College (Dr. Llwyd), and Messrs. J. A. Worrell, K.C., E. B. Osler, W. R. Brock, and N. F. Davidson, K.C., to discuss the question with those interested. About the same time an anonymous Churchman, a friend of the two Colleges, offered, through Dr. Llwyd, a gift of \$200,000, and more if necessary, if a satisfactory and workable union could be effected. Considerable correspondence resulted and meetings were held, but the Wycliffe authorities, lukewarm throughout, declined to consider the proposal.

The terms laid down in April 1909 by the Board of Governors for the removal to Queen's Park were not entirely satisfactory to Trinity, and it was late in 1910 before the final agreement was approved by Corporation. A questionnaire sent to those closely interested resulted in the following report, dated the fifteenth day of February 1911. Of the six Bishops on the Corporation, four were in favour of removal and one opposed; of the College staff all but two were in favour; Convocation, while regretting the necessity, was forty-eight in favour with five against. At a subsequent meeting of graduates at which thirty-one were present, twenty-nine were in favour and a resolution was carried, with two dissenting votes, "that Trinity College should avail herself of the offer [of the University of Toronto] as soon as financial and other considerations warrant."

At a later meeting of the Corporation a committee was appointed to consider plans for the proposed new building

and to appoint an architect. The Land, Finance and Executive Committee was instructed to sell the Trinity College grounds. On the first of August 1912, the City of Toronto offered \$625,000 for the thirty-one acres and all the College buildings (except the Chapel), the College being allowed five years' free occupancy of the buildings. This offer was accepted.

On the twenty-eighth of December 1911, Trinity lost one of her most distinguished graduates and generous benefactors, James Henderson, '58, M.A. '65, D.C.L. '00. Elected a member of Corporation in 1872, he served his College with enthusiastic loyalty, self-sacrificing zeal, and great personal devotion. When his will was probated it was revealed that the College had been made the residuary legatee of his estate, valued at something more than \$700,000.¹

With the income from this estate and the revenue from the funds collected by the Board of Endowment and Finances, the Corporation was in a position to meet the rapidly rising expenditures and to increase the salaries of the staff which were lamentably low and considerably less than those paid by the University and the other federated Colleges.

In June 1912, Provost Macklem again tendered his resignation and pressed that it be accepted. Considerable consideration was given to the choice of a successor. The position was first offered to the Right Reverend Charles Henry Brent, one of Trinity's most distinguished graduates. As Bishop of the Philippines, Dr. Brent had already assumed such responsibilities that he felt compelled to decline. The Reverend Thomas Wesley Powell, '93, a man of great power and influence, with a record of notable success in parochial work and in the cause of religious education, was then invited to the office. In his college days and after his ordination he had worked faithfully and zealously in the parish of York Mills

¹ A portrait of Dr. James Henderson, by Sir Wyly Grier, was unveiled in Convocation Hall on June 3, 1912. It now hangs in Strachan Hall.

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in a mission which had been established in 1888 by the Reverend John Langtry. In 1900 this mission became St. Clement's parish, North Toronto, with Mr. Powell as Rector. In the following year, he founded St. Clement's School (now conducted by Miss E. G. M. Waugh, B.A. '08, M.A. King's N.S., 1911), for the purpose of providing religious as well as secular instruction for the children of the parish. In 1910 Dr. Powell accepted the Presidency of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, a position he filled with marked success. When Dr. Powell declined the Provostship, Dr. Macklem consented to continue in that office until the new buildings of the College were completed.

A request from the students that attendance at chapel service be purely voluntary was presented to the Corporation about this time. The reply of that body was that in its opinion "present regulations are reasonable, wise and salutary, and every resident student of the college, being also a member of the Church of England, should conform to them willingly."

In the autumn of 1913, a committee on new buildings was appointed, consisting of Dr. J. A. Worrell as chairman, Sir Edmund Osler, Sir Henry Pellatt, the Very Reverend Dean Starr, the Venerable Archdeacons G. F. Davidson and J. J. Bogert, the Reverend E. C. Cayley, and Messrs. Gerard B. Strathy, J. A. Kammerer, N. F. Davidson, Dr. R. J. Reade, Professor A. H. Young, and the Provost. This committee authorized the architect, Mr. Frank Darling, to prepare tentative plans and drawings for buildings with accommodation for 350 students, to cost not more than \$400,000. One year later the committee submitted to the Corporation the drawings presented by the architect, which included residences for 150 men, class room accommodation for 350 men and women, a dining hall to seat 250, and a chapel to provide seating for from 300 to 350 persons. Provision was also made for a library of 20,000 volumes, working laboratories, a

gymnasium, a squash racquets court, and an infirmary. But a year having elapsed since the first estimate, the architect now reported that the proposed buildings could not be provided for anything like the specified amount. It was thereupon decided that the maximum expenditure should be increased to \$630,000 (about the amount received from the sale of the Queen Street property), to be apportioned as follows: for the Trinity College building, \$500,000; for St. Hilda's College, \$100,000; and for furnishings, \$30,000. The architect therefore was instructed to revise the plans accordingly. In the meantime, a private house at 111 St. George Street had been purchased at a cost of \$23,000 as a temporary residence for the students of St. Hilda's College.

The year 1913-14 was a banner year in the history of the College. The office of Chancellor, which had been vacant since the death of the fourth Chancellor, Mr. Christopher Robinson, in 1905, was filled by the election on the fifteenth of June 1914 of Mr. John Austin Worrell, M.A., K.C., one of Trinity's most distinguished graduates. His installation took place at the annual meeting of Convocation on the eighteenth of November following. A general prosperity in the country was reflected in an increased enrolment, and improved finances. The prospect of a more comprehensive curriculum and fine buildings, now that federation with the Provincial University had been completed on satisfactory terms, also promised well for the future.

But, on the fourth of August 1914, war with Germany was declared, and eight weeks later the University session opened with staff and students returning to face a situation undreamed of. Already many of the professors and students had heard the call and had left for overseas, or were drilling with the local militia units to which they belonged. As the conflict grew increasingly critical, more and more responded to the call for recruits, either singly or in groups, until before long practically every man physically fit had enlisted. Two

hundred members of the University of Toronto were in the first contingent which left Valcartier late in September 1914, four brigades consisting of 33,000 men of all ranks. From the autumn of 1914, when some men of all the years left college, Trinity continued to send men in increasing numbers; even freshmen (class of 1918) were keen to follow the example of their senior brothers-in-arms. During the first year of the war 111 graduates, undergraduates, and other alumni enrolled for active service.

Shortly after the opening of Michaelmas Term, 1915, the numbers in attendance had been so reduced that Trinity House, the residence of freshmen, was closed.² The following year when the total student body had fallen to ninety-nine (the male enrolment being thirty students in Arts and seventeen in Arts and Divinity) the whole west wing was closed and remained so until 1918. In the final year of the war there were less than twenty-six men in residence, some of them returned men unfit for further duty, a few medically unfit for active service, the rest under military age.³ The women of St. Hilda's, like their associates in the sister Colleges, were active in Red Cross work, in medical care, nursing, sanitation, ambulance driving, clerking, and other similar duties both at home and overseas. Like other universities, both in Canada and in the Old Land, Trinity provided accommodation for military units, such as the west wing for the officers of the 28th Battalion (Northern Fusiliers), Convocation Hall for officers' classes, Trinity House for convalescent soldiers, the gymnasium for musketry drill, and the playing fields for parade grounds.

²The former Bickford house, acquired by the College in 1903, was adapted as a residence for freshmen with the appropriate name of Greenland attached to it. But the students, learning that it had more recently been the home of the Keely Institute for inebriates, applied the obvious name of "Jag House" to it, and so it was known until the end.

³It is significant that in Michaelmas Term 1918 there were but 4 men in fourth-year Arts, 5 in the third year, 5 in the second year, and 15 in the first year. In Divinity there were 8 in all.

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The total enlistment of Trinity men during the war amounted to 543: seven members of the staff, seventy-three undergraduates, 387 graduates, and seventy-six other alumni. Of casualties there were fifty-six dead,⁴ eighty-six wounded, one missing, eighteen invalided home, and 225 discharged. Of the men who enlisted, 413 obtained their commissions and twenty-three were non-commissioned officers. Altogether 149 honours were awarded, including to one the C.B., one the K.C.V.O., nine the C.M.G., four the C.B.E., six the O.B.E., seven the D.S.O., twenty-two the Military Cross (five with Bar), one the Air Force Cross, three the Royal Red Cross, four the Military Medal, one the D.C.M.; forty-three were mentioned in despatches (three of them three times, eight twice) and twenty-two mentioned for services.

From France three received the Croix de Guerre, one the Légion d'Honneur, and three, other decorations. Bishop Brent, '84, D.D. '01, Chief of Chaplain Services for the American Expeditionary Force, received the Distinguished Service Medal (U.S.) and Commander of the Order of Leopold of Belgium; Colonel Sir Edward Worthington, Med. '97, C.B., C.M.G., was created Knight Commander of the Victorian Order, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and Officer of the Order of Leopold of Belgium.

A fine war memorial volume, compiled with meticulous care by Professor A. H. Young and Professor W. A. Kirkwood, was published in 1922. It is a magnificent record of the services of Trinity's men and women on behalf of the Empire and will ever be treasured by all Trinity men.⁵ When the Carillon was installed in the Soldiers' Tower at the time of the Centenary celebrations of the University of Toronto in 1927, one of the bells, with the inscription *Met' Agona*

⁴See Appendix for list of names.

⁵*The War Memorial Volume of Trinity College, Toronto* ed. by A. H. Young, M.A., D.C.L., and W. A. Kirkwood, M.A., Ph.D. (Toronto, 1922).

Stephanos, was given by graduates and friends of Trinity College in memory of her members, graduates and undergraduates, who fell in the Great War, 1914-18.

As each year showed a steady decrease in the enrolment, so there was a comparable falling off in revenue. Fees, from a high of some \$24,000 in 1913-14, fell to \$10,000 in 1916-17 and the annual over-all deficit of \$26,700 was increased to nearly \$55,000 by 1918-19. Contributory to this increasing deficit, in addition to the falling off in fees, were the lower rentals received on properties owned by the College, the higher cost of living induced by the war, and the salaries paid to the staff, which had been materially increased for the fiscal year 1914-15. Apart from the financial problem, the dwindling number of Divinity students had been giving the College authorities grave concern for some years. Since 1910 when the number of students proceeding to Holy Orders had reached the high mark of seventy-five a more than average decline had taken place until by 1918 the numbers had fallen to twenty-one, owing in part to the war.

The building programme was of course halted, but the City of Toronto was prevailed upon to extend for a further two years, to August 1919, the free use of the grounds and buildings, with the exception of Trinity House which was required as a military hospital. In 1919, by paying a rental of \$2,500 per annum, the time for vacating was extended for a further period of five years.

The reorganization after Armistice Day 1918 brought new problems to the College. Extra costs of maintenance as a result of the war were considerable. The salary question again demanded attention, for it was generally known that the University of Toronto had already granted a general increase of twenty-five per cent on all salaries and wages pending a review of the whole question.

The year 1918-19 unfortunately brought no addition to the enrolment, though the future seemed bright, provided the

construction of the buildings in Queen's Park could be proceeded with. The year also brought with it some changes in the personnel of the staff, chief among which was the resignation of Miss Mary Elizabeth Strachan, former assistant to the Principal of St. Hilda's College for eleven years and dean in charge of the women students in Deneside, the former Provost's Lodge. She was a granddaughter of the Founder and daughter of Judge John Strachan of Goderich. Some time after the death of her father, Miss Strachan had come with her mother and sister to live in the College with her mother's brother, the Reverend William Jones, then Professor of Mathematics. She remained there until his death in 1907, assisting him in his duties as Bursar and Registrar, and taking an active interest in the work of the College, particularly of St. Hilda's. She was born in 1852, the year of the opening of the College, and was thus the last link with a generation long since passed away. Her death at the age of seventy-five occurred on the fourth of September 1927.

Changes in the staff also included the appointments of Sinclair MacLardy Adams, an honour graduate of 1913, and Miss Susan Gertrude Morley, '05, as Lecturers in Classics, and the Reverend James Boath Fotheringham, a former Lecturer in Divinity, as Lecturer in Homiletics.

Early in May 1920, after twenty years of service to the College, years which were distinguished by devoted energy and great business capacity, the Provost felt that the time had come for his retirement. Elected to the position at the age of thirty-eight, he had given the best years of his life to bring about the federation of Trinity (which he believed to be in its best interests) with its consequent removal to the precincts of the University. Dr. Macklem's early vision of the mutual benefit to the College and to the University had now been fully realized, he said, and he wished to step aside to allow a younger and more vigorous man to cope with post-war difficulties, to promote the campaign to increase the

endowments, to proceed with the plans for the new buildings, and to arrange for the eventual removal of the College to Queen's Park.

A committee was appointed to consider a successor, and that there should be no hurried choice, Dr. Macklem agreed to remain until the beginning of Michaelmas Term 1921, by which time he would have more than completed his twenty-one years as Provost.

On the twenty-first of June 1921 the Reverend Charles Allen Seager, D.D., a graduate of 1895, formerly Principal of St. Mark's Hall, Vancouver, and for the past four years Rector of St. Matthew's Church, Toronto, was elected to succeed Dr. Macklem, his appointment to take effect the following September. On the twenty-second of November, Dr. Seager was installed as Provost in Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto.

A graduate of 1902 and of the Divinity class of 1904,⁶ has paid the following tribute to Dr. Macklem:

Dr. Macklem had the qualities of a statesman. He foresaw that Trinity's destiny was linked with the University of Toronto. What had been suggested by a gentle hint, resulted in a bombshell to her votaries to whom union with the secular institution would be traitorous and would be a denial of the whole purpose of her life history. Even the student body was up in arms. But the Provost was clever—diplomacy was his second name—and gradually he broke down the barriers by his arguments that Trinity could not live in isolation. The apparent sacrifice she would have to make to enter the federation of Colleges would be more than compensated by the benefits she would obtain.

The move was made, for better or worse. Trinity took her place in the great federation. Provost Macklem did it. He instituted the plan, convinced the authorities, procured the new free site, sold the old at a good price to the city, engaged the architects, superintended the plans and after twenty-one years made way for a successor. Truly a great achievement for one man.

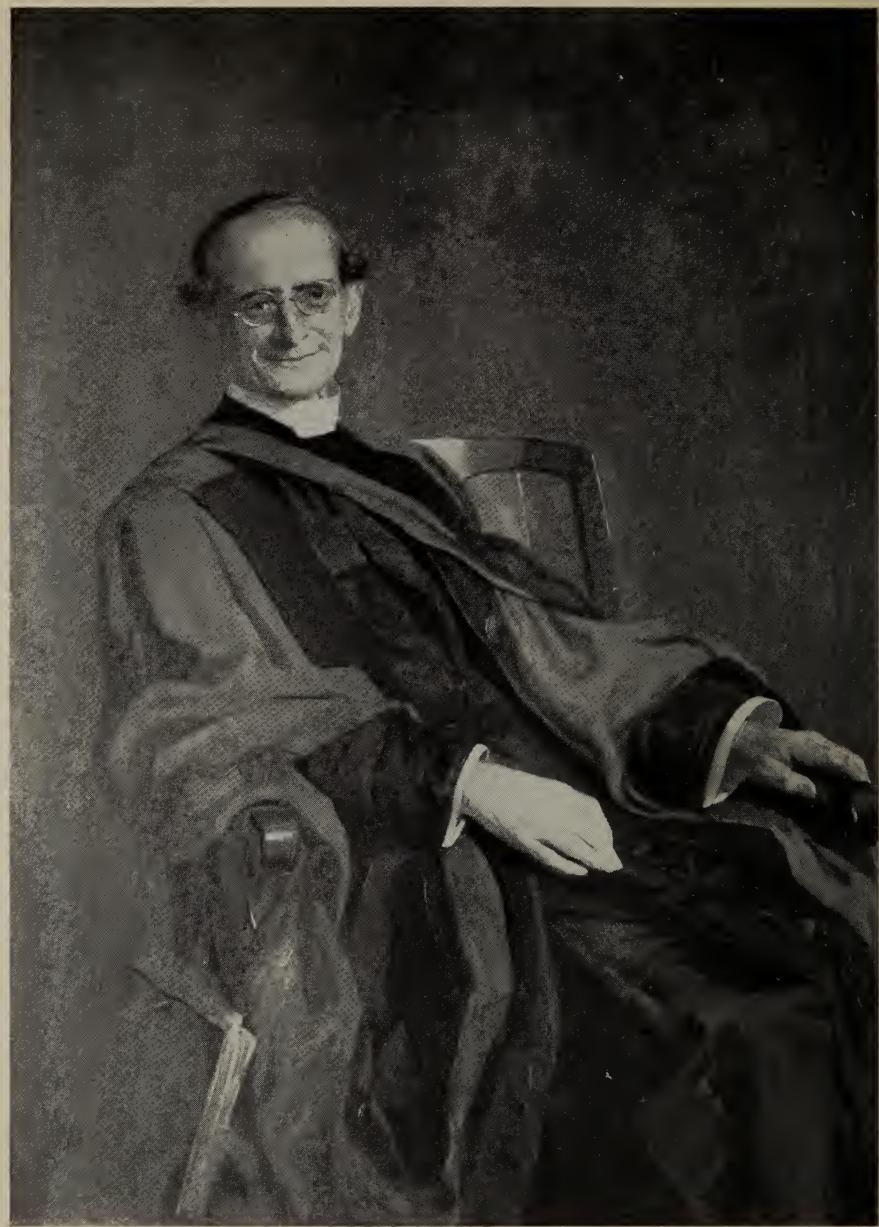
The finance and executive committee which had been instructed to consider and advise upon the whole question of staff and salaries brought in a constructive report, which

⁶Canon H. F. D. Woodcock, M.A., D.D.

CONVOCATION, SEPTEMBER 29, 1904

The last Convocation in faculties other than Divinity. Among others there will be noticed, in the *front rows*: John A. Worrell, Canon E. A. Welch, Bishop C. H. Brent, J. Humfrey Anger, M.S.D., Provost Macklem, Chancellor Christopher Robinson, R. Ramsay Wright, Dr. D. J. Goggin, Dean Duckworth, James Henderson, Elmes Henderson; *upper left*: A. W. Jenks, G. F. Davidson; *upper right*: C. S. MacInnes, A. H. Young, J. W. G. Andras



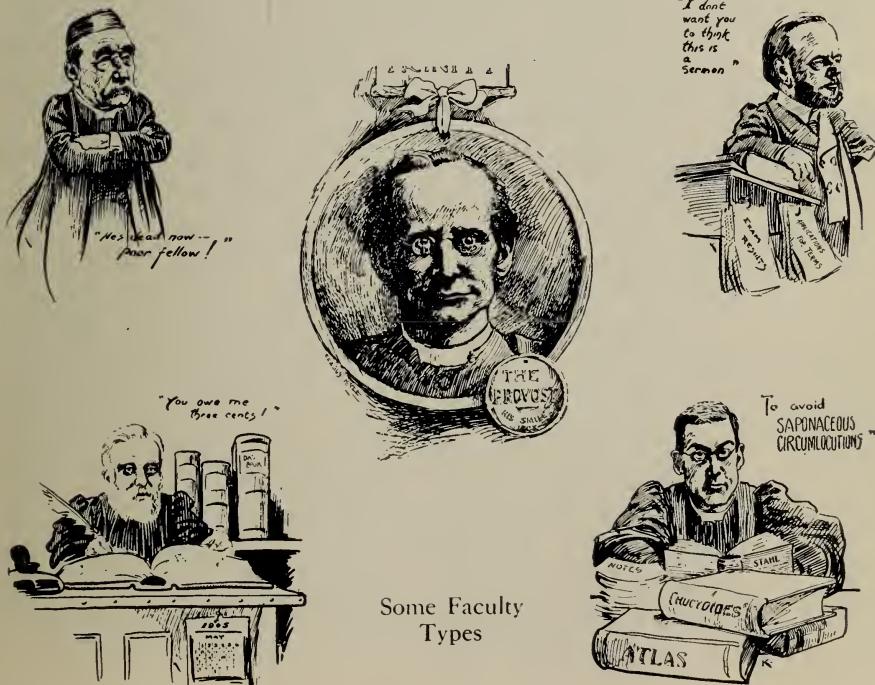


PROVOST T. C. S. MACKLEM
From the portrait by E. Wylly Grier in Strachan Hall



"FEDERATION" (A LEAP IN THE DARK)

From left to right: H. C. Simpson, A. H. Young, Dr. Wm. Clark, A. W. Jenks, Dean Duckworth, Provost Macklem



Some Faculty Types

"SOME OF THE FACULTY"

Dr. Wm. Clark
Dr. Wm. Jones

Provost Macklem

Professor A. H. Young
Dean Duckworth

Drawings by Fergus Kyle (*Courtesy of T. W. Lawson, '05*)



THE NEW BUILDING: LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE, JUNE 4, 1923

In the foreground: Bishop J. C. Roper, Provost C. A. Seager, Archbishop Thorneloe, Bishop J. F. Sweeny,
Sir Robert Falconer, John A. Pearson, Dr. W. A. Kirkwood



TRINITY COLLEGE 1925



STRACHAN HALL 1941

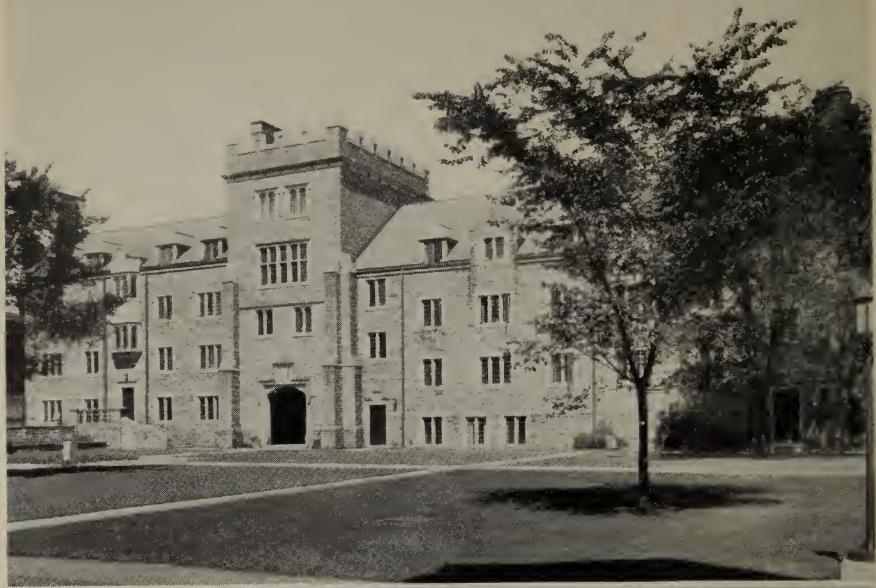
THE ORIEL WINDOW, STRACHAN HALL



THE FIRE-PLACE, STRACHAN HALL



Arms of Dr. F. H. Cosgrave, the College, and Gerald Larkin, Esq.



THE MEN'S RESIDENCE AND THE JUNIOR COMMON ROOM 1941

F E D E R A T I O N T O R E M O V A L

came into effect in the fiscal year 1920-21. It was recommended that a staff adequate to carry on the work of the College should consist of seven officers in addition to the Provost, namely, a registrar, a bursar, a librarian, and four deans, one each in Arts and Divinity, a dean of residence for men and one for women. They further recommended an academic staff of eight professors, four associate professors, five lecturers, and two instructors. A definite scale of salaries was also drawn up which increased the annual payments on this account by nearly forty per cent.

In June 1920 it had been decided to proceed with the erection of only that portion of the new building facing on Hoskin Avenue, designed to contain lecture rooms, the library, the chapel, and the administrative offices, that being the extent the state of finances would permit. Realizing that the residences included in the original plans could not be built for some years, the St. George Mansions, a large apartment house close to the University, had been purchased, to provide a residence for men students when the new building was ready for occupation. It consisted of 160 rooms and thirty bathrooms and was estimated to be sufficient to accommodate one hundred students and several professors; with minor alterations a dining room could also be provided.

On a cold wintry day, the thirteenth of December 1922, the first sod for the new College building was turned by the Right Reverend Dr. James Fielding Sweeny, Bishop of Toronto, in the presence of the Right Reverend J. Charles Roper, Bishop of Ottawa and a former Professor of Divinity; Canon C. L. Ingles; the Provost, Dr. C. A. Seager; Dr. F. H. Cosgrave, Dean of Divinity; Professor H. T. F. Duckworth, Dean of Arts; Dr. W. H. Pepler, Chairman of Convocation; Mr. John A. Pearson, the architect, and a few friends of the College. The ground was frozen and a small area had to be thawed out with a brazier to enable the Bishop to perform the ceremony.

Six months later, on the fourth of June 1923, the founda-

tion stone was laid by His Grace the Archbishop of Algoma, Dr. Thorneloe, assisted by the Bishop of Toronto, the Bishop of Ottawa, His Honour Colonel Henry Cockshutt, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University, in the presence of a large gathering of clergy, graduates, students, and friends of Trinity. The trowel used on this occasion was the one used by Bishop Strachan at the laying of the foundation stone of the first building on Queen Street on the thirtieth day of April 1851. It is a matter of interest that the foundation stone from the old building was discovered in time to be placed with the new one, on the left side of the main entrance to the College. The ceremony was an impressive one. The form of service followed closely that used for the old building, seventy-two years before, the music on this occasion being provided by Dr. Albert Ham and the choir of St. James' Cathedral. The opening hymn "Forward! be our Watchword," and the closing one, "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," were both significant of the past history of the College and of its hopes for the future.

Dr. Macklem's last report showed an encouraging increase in the enrolment for 1920-21: ninety-seven men (of whom sixteen were proceeding to Holy Orders) and sixty women. The total prospective ordinands numbered forty. Before his retirement, another effort was made to discuss a possible union with Wycliffe and a strong committee was appointed consisting of the Provost, the Chancellor, the Bishops of Ottawa, Ontario, and Toronto, Dean Owen of Niagara, Canon J. B. Fotheringham, Mr. Justice Hodgins, Mr. Justice Orde, Dr. D. J. Goggin, and Mr. A. H. Campbell. But nothing came of it.

A loss to the College, but a gain to the University was the transfer of Eric Trevor Owen, a graduate of Trinity in 1903 and a member of the staff in Classics from his graduation until 1923, when he was appointed Professor of Greek in

University College. To the study and teaching of Greek he brought a rare distinction of mind, to which students who were fortunate enough to sit under him bear witness, and, to quote one of them, "he made Ancient History live." His death in March 1948 at a comparatively early age was a distinct shock to his associates and his many friends.

George Sidney Brett of Christ Church, Oxford, came to the College as Lecturer in Classics in 1908 and was appointed Professor of Ethics and Ancient Philosophy the following year, a position he held until 1921. In that year he transferred to the larger field of the University as Professor of Philosophy and head of the Department, eventually becoming Dean of Graduate Studies. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, a writer of many treatises on philosophy and kindred subjects, and a member of the corporation of Trinity College School and the executive of the University of Toronto Alumni Association. He died suddenly on the twenty-seventh of October 1944.

Progress in the erection of the new building was such that the removal from the old College was planned for the summer of 1925, that all might be in readiness for the opening of the Michaelmas Term.

Before the departure of Trinity for Queen's Park several farewell functions were held at the old building on Queen Street. On Sunday, the nineteenth of April, a service to mark the end of the Divinity term was held in the College Chapel at which the preacher was the Reverend Herbert O. Tremayne, B.A. '86, M.A. '88, Rector of Christ Church, Mimico; his father, the Reverend Canon Francis Tremayne, who preceded him at Mimico, had been one of the first class of students to enter the College in 1852.

The special service to mark the end of the Arts term was held on the seventeenth of May, the Reverend Canon F. J. Sawers, B.A. '01, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Cobourg, being the preacher. The concluding ceremonies, from June

the fourth to Sunday, June the seventh 1925, consisted of a special service each day in the Chapel, a dinner and informal dance in Convocation Hall, and a special Convocation, reception, and garden party. About the same time it was announced that the family of the late William Rees Brock, a staunch friend of the College for many years, had generously donated the sum of \$50,000 to the endowment in his memory.

In September the women students took up residence in the three houses, Nos. 99, 111, and 113 St. George Street, which had been acquired at a cost of \$97,500 as temporary residences of St. Hilda's College, and the men occupied the former St. George Mansions at the corner of St. George and Harbord Streets, thereafter known as Trinity House.

Academic work began in the new building on the opening of the Michaelmas Term, and on the twenty-first of October 1925 the formal opening and dedication took place. This event was preceded by a special Convocation in Arts of the University of Toronto in Convocation Hall at which the Chancellor, Sir William Mulock, presided. Addresses were given by the President, Sir Robert Falconer, and the Provost, the Reverend C. A. Seager. The Provost referred with feeling to the late Mr. Frank Darling, the architect of the beautiful new Trinity College, in which he had so faithfully adapted the architectural features of the old, and to Dr. T. C. S. Macklem, who, during twenty-one years as Provost, had championed Federation and brought his work to a happy conclusion.

The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was then conferred on the following distinguished alumni of Trinity: the Right Reverend James Fielding Sweeny, B.D. '83, D.D. '88, Bishop of Toronto, the third in succession to the illustrious Founder, the first Bishop of Toronto; Colonel Charles Stephen MacInnes, '92, K.C., C.M.G., a brilliant graduate and classical scholar and grandson of the first Chancellor of

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the University of Trinity College, Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bt.; and Miss Mabel Cartwright, Principal of St. Hilda's College since 1903 and Dean of Women.

Following Convocation, a long impressive procession to the new building was formed headed by the Esquire Bedells, each carrying a mace, and followed by the Chancellor of the University and Dr. John Austin Worrell, Chancellor of the University of Trinity College, members of the Board of Governors, the Senate, members of the faculties of the University, and the staff, graduates, and undergraduates of Trinity. Brilliant in vari-coloured hoods in the bright autumn sunshine, the gathering proceeded slowly across the lawn through the Soldiers' Tower to the entrance of the new building, where the Chancellor of Trinity presented a petition to the Prime Minister of Ontario, the Honourable George Howard Ferguson, asking him to open the new building.

With this portion of the ceremony concluded, His Grace the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Algoma and Metropolitan of Ontario, Dr. Thorneloe, began the service of dedication with the words: "Peace be to this house from God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. O Lord, open Thou our lips"; to which the people responded, "And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise." This invocation was followed by Psalm CXLV, *Exaltabo te, Deus*, "I will magnify Thee O God my King: and I will praise Thy Name for ever and ever," the appropriate cadences of which could not fail to impress the large gathering assembled.

The prayer of dedication read by the Archbishop followed closely the form drawn up by Bishop Strachan in 1852.⁷ Then followed the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, the collect for the Festival of Saints Simon and Jude and other collects, the General Thanksgiving, the hymn, "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," the National Anthem, and the Benediction.

⁷See Henry Melville, M.D.: *The Rise and Progress of Trinity College, Toronto* (Toronto, 1852), p. 211.

A H I S T O R Y O F T R I N I T Y C O L L E G E

At eight o'clock the same evening the dedication ceremonies were brought to a close by an impressive service of thanksgiving in St. James' Cathedral, the building of which was another of the achievements of the Founder, coincident with the establishment of the College. The music was by the Cathedral choir under the direction of Dr. Albert Ham, and the sermon by the Right Reverend Derwyn Trevor Owen, Bishop of Niagara. At the close of the service the Benediction was pronounced by His Grace, the Most Reverend George Thorneloe, the Archbishop of Algoma.

AT THE GATES OF OLD TRINITY

It was in May 1880 that Archibald Lampman, the poet, then a student at Old Trinity College, Toronto, read *Orion and Other Poems* by Charles G. D. Roberts, and knew that this was the birth of a distinctively Canadian literature.

This place is holy. Though the crowded city
Has brought her squalor to the College gate
It neither merits scorn nor asks for pity,
Its ancient honor is inviolate.

This is where Lampman walked on that May morning
With Roberts's *Orion* in his hand,
Reading its rich, evocative, sure warning
That rhythmic words would wake this sleeping
land.

His was no longer, now, a lone voice singing;
Here was a master he was proud to own;
Here was a prophet of his own age, bringing
Transcendent themes he had not sung, alone.

This carillon in song's high-soaring steeple
Would peal across the deepest, farthest wood,
And from this choir a newly-wakened people
Would hear the call to conscious nationhood.

This place is holy. These old gates adorning
A shabby street, in proud remembrance stand
This is where Lampman walked on that May morning
With Roberts's *Orion* in his hand.

VERNA LOVEDAY HARDEN

TRINITY AT QUEEN'S PARK:
1925-1952

O THOSE who had lived in Old Trinity and had moved with the College to the new building, so empty as yet of any cumulative tradition of its own, the change inevitably invited comparisons. The façade of the new building suggested that of the old, but the copper-covered cupolas were innocent of patina. In three-quarters of a century Old Trinity had become venerable through the passing by of many generations of student life. The very atmosphere of the old building was of a Victorian way of life that had almost vanished. The smudges of gas jets could still be seen on the walls of "Wall Street" and "Brewery Lane." Students' rooms (usually a larger room for studying with a smaller bedroom, the "Coffin," adjoining it) had an extra door of solid oak which could be "sported" when the student wanted to exercise his right to be free of intrusion when studying. Inside the rooms open fire-places invited meditation before the embers while the breast of the thinker roasted and the back froze in accordance with the sturdy *res angustae* of Victorian days. Kettles simmered for tea, and on the dingy varnish of the mantelpieces successive generations had made their mark with white-hot pokers. In the Library, which seemed to have grown a little ramshackle with the years, old folios leaned with familiar ease against modern volumes on shelves that were certainly not the latest in library equipment. The very air seemed to have a concrete and quite physical smell of

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tradition, though no doubt that was no more than the slight mustiness of an old building.

Old Trinity was a tightly knit community, consciously proud of possessing an atmosphere of its own. Its numbers were small compared with the teeming populations in the Queen's Park colleges. In a real sense the College body, staff and students, were "members one of another" in a way they might never be again. For one thing, nearly all Trinity students lived in residence and nearly all of them came from homes outside Toronto. For both good and ill Old Trinity was isolated. A student "went up to the University" for certain lectures or for labs. or to visit the University Library, but when he returned it was as if he came back to his real home and as if he were not now quite "in" the University. No one was a stranger in Old Trinity. The strong and the weak qualities of every man were known to his fellows, as in a family they are known. Students studied at battered desks or, on nights of athletic triumph, rolled bottles in dark corridors or sat before the fire into the small hours exploring and arguing about the geography of knowledge—well aware that many students before their day had studied or rolled bottles or argued in those same places. There were intangible but very real "presences" in the old building.

That sense of the past would in part vanish with our move. At Queen's Park the twentieth-century atmosphere waited for us. That it would change and mould us in many respects was beyond doubt, and it was desirable that it should do so provided it did not cut us off from our roots. A whirl of University student activities awaited us where once we had lived almost self-sufficiently in our own smaller society. There would be much gain and some loss in that; we were anxious to pull our weight and a little more, if possible, in University life. In due course our numbers would swell and perhaps never again would each member of the College know every other member as a matter of course. The time might

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

come when a student and a don might pass in the halls of New Trinity, neither knowing who the other was—that would be a strange thing. In Old Trinity attendance at Even-song in the College Chapel was compulsory and, though there was much objection to the compulsion, chapel was a part of Trinity life; when in the new building the compulsion would come to be removed and only a small minority of students would attend, something vital in the College life would be lost. In smaller matters there would be changes; we would even wear our gowns with a difference—no longer quite as a matter of course—in ungowned Queen's Park. Still, come what might in the future, we were embarked on the adventure of carrying a living spirit across a gap into a new habitation. One could hope that something of the old tradition would make its imprint on the new ways of life.

It soon became clear that Trinity could adjust herself to her new surroundings, profit by them, and make a greater contribution to University life without losing her identity. In many respects Trinity became less parochial, more integrated in the cultural life of the University; for instance, the proportion of Trinity students taking "University courses"¹ became, and remained, far greater. Students made full use of Hart House and took their full share in campus activities and profited intellectually and socially by their closer associations with men of other colleges. While many of the traditions which had grown up in the old building went by the board, the loyalty to Trinity was not sacrificed. The general improvement in academic standing was soon indicated by the selection of five members of the College for

¹Courses built around subjects such as History and Mathematics, to give two examples, the teaching of which is, by the Federation Act, given by the University rather than by the colleges. Subjects reserved for College teaching are Latin, Greek, English, French, and German Languages and Literature; Greek and Roman History; Oriental Languages, History, and Archaeology; Ethics; and Religious Knowledge. "University courses" usually contain some college subjects which are taught in the colleges and *vice versa*.

TRINITY AT QUEEN'S PARK

Rhodes Scholarships in the period from 1927 to 1932² and by the award, during the same period, of the John H. Moss Memorial Scholarship, for which nominations are made by each of the Arts Colleges of the University of Toronto, to three Trinity students. The improvement in academic standing has been maintained down to the present time, Trinity students securing many of the most important awards made by the Senate of the University.

It was soon evident, however, that two immediate needs were an increased endowment and the completion of the College buildings according to the original plans. The new administrative building on Hoskin Avenue was beautiful to see and modern in its equipment. But the lack of a chapel, after the very beautiful Henderson Memorial Chapel at Old Trinity, was severely felt, and the inadequacy of funds subscribed for the proposed War Memorial Chapel postponed indefinitely the realization of that objective. Further, the great room planned as the reading room of the new Library had to be taken to serve as a temporary chapel—in 1952 it still serves that use—and for public meetings and other functions. The Library could not function properly until housed in its own quarters, and a convocation or assembly hall was needed for academic and social gatherings for which there was now no suitable accommodation.

Most urgent of all was the need for new residence buildings which would adjoin the new administration building. The separation of the men's residence from the College was beginning to have an injurious effect upon the residence

²Up to 1952 eleven Trinity students have been awarded Rhodes Scholarships, as follows: Arthur Kent Griffin, M.A. '16, awarded for 1915; John Lowe, M.A. '22, awarded for 1922; Escott Meredith Reid, '27, awarded for 1927; William Lyndon Smith, '27, awarded for 1928; George Stevenson Cartwright, '29, awarded for 1929; Charles Herbert Little, '30, awarded for 1930; John Leslie Stewart, '33, awarded for 1932; George Ignatieff, '36, awarded for 1936; James George, '40, awarded for 1940; William M. Cox, '51, awarded for 1951 for Bermuda; Ronald Lampman Watts, '52, awarded for 1952.

system which had been a conspicuous feature of student life since the opening of the College seventy-five years before. Trinity House, as the adopted apartment building had been renamed, was a very indifferent substitute. The students of St. Hilda's, accommodated in three separate houses on St. George Street, were worse off still. Though Trinity House did serve to hold together the people who lived in it, it could not be anything but a makeshift arrangement throughout its sixteen years of service as Trinity's residence. In it the Literary Institute saw some of its best days and other College societies seemed to survive satisfactorily. In Trinity House the difficult position of Dean of Residence was filled by Professor Lloyd Hodgins³ and Dr. W. A. Kirkwood in the session 1925-26; by Dr. G. F. Kingston from 1926 to 1940; and by Professor Lyndon Smith in 1940-41.⁴ The problems of preserving that intangible something called "College spirit" or sometimes even of preserving the usual necessities of College discipline in such an unsuitable building were not always easy. Great credit is due to the successive Deans during this period, particularly to Dr. Kingston, who shouldered this difficult responsibility for fourteen years and who was rewarded by the sincere respect and affection of several generations of students. Thanks to these men and to their colleagues living in residence and to the good spirit of the student body, the residential system, another great tradition of Trinity College from 1852 onwards, was maintained in difficult circumstances. During Dr. Kingston's term of office the Board of Stewards was instituted, and it has been ever since a most valuable instrument of student government.

The number of students enrolled at Trinity rapidly increased as soon as the move was made. In the session 1925-26,

³Appointed Dean of Residence in 1922.

⁴Professor Lyndon Smith continued in this post until 1947 and was therefore the first Dean of Residence in the new residence building. From 1947 to 1949 Provost Seeley undertook the duties of Dean of Residence with the Reverend H. V. R. Short as his assistant. The latter was acting Dean 1949-51.

the first year at Queen's Park, the enrolment was 220;⁵ it rose to 247 in 1926-27, to 296 in 1927-28, and to 332 in 1928-29. At this point the Corporation of the College ordered that the number of regular students in the Faculty of Arts was not to exceed 325 until further action might be taken. This was done in order that classes might be limited in size, and that students might continue to have that intimate association with their teachers and with one another which had been a feature of Trinity life from the beginning. A policy of restricting the number of students has been held to ever since, though the limit had to be placed far above 325 after the Second World War when the veterans returned to college and Trinity desired to do its utmost to accommodate them.⁶ Trinity has not returned to the original limit.

One aspect of enrolment which brought new problems, never to be completely solved, was the growing proportion of non-resident to resident students. In the first freshman year at Queen's Park the non-residents outnumbered the residents—a situation that would have been impossible in Old Trinity where the ratio of non-residents to residents was less than one to twenty. Soon the non-residents vastly outnumbered the residents. This fact has militated against the unity of College life and has inevitably resulted in a thinning out of many traditions built up in the past by residence life. After the war at the peak of enrolment it was found necessary for a time to accommodate in the residences no students from homes in Toronto unless they held College scholarships. The result was that nearly all Toronto students had to be debarred from the educational advantages of residence life. It might have been feared that the growing numbers would have resulted in the breaking up of College unity into cliques. This seems, however, to have happened to a far less degree

⁵This enrolment was made up of 134 men (66 in Arts and 68 in Arts and Divinity) and 86 women.

⁶Trinity's peak enrolment was 671 in 1947-8.

than might have been expected. College societies and College activities, open to all, have of course helped to counteract the danger. Perhaps the greatest problem in preserving unity of spirit has been that of finding devices to minimize the inevitable differences in the ways of College life as between resident and non-resident.

In 1926, at the conclusion of the first session in the new building, Dr. Seager resigned his Provostship after a term of five years in that office, to become Bishop of Ontario. On him had fallen the responsibility of moving the College from Queen Street to its present site and of initiating a new relationship between the College and the University. His counsel, his administrative powers, and his qualities of statesmanship contributed much to the welfare of the College. Bishop Seager's career after leaving Trinity was distinguished. In 1932 he was elected Bishop of Huron and in 1943 Archbishop and Metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province of Ontario. He died on the ninth of September 1948.⁷

On the twenty-first of July 1926, the Reverend Francis Herbert Cosgrave, M.A., B.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, who had been a member of the staff from 1907 to 1923, was unanimously elected Provost. He was installed in office on the fifteenth of January following, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the opening of Trinity College.

Serious financial problems awaited the new Provost. The larger enrolment, far from lightening the financial burden of the College, added to it.⁸ The cost of maintaining five buildings instead of two had increased the strain on College finances, already serious before the move. In the five years of

⁷A fine portrait of Archbishop Seager, painted by Clare Bice, R.C.A., hangs in Strachan Hall.

⁸The tuition fees are the same for all the colleges. They do not meet the tuition overhead for the College. The result is that a larger enrolment increased the deficit proportionately. Tuition fees for the colleges have had to be increased by the following stages: in 1924 the tuition fee for an Arts student was \$40, by 1932 it rose to \$75 and was then increased to \$100; in 1935 it became \$115, and at present it is \$216.

Dr. Seager's Provostship expenses had increased by nearly twenty per cent whereas regular income had gained by only ten per cent. Now the College found itself, not for the first nor for the last time in its history, faced with an operating deficit which had grown to an alarming amount. In these circumstances the Corporation appealed, in February 1927, to the friends of the College for assistance, and a sum of approximately three hundred thousand dollars was subscribed. Thanks to this help, the staff, which had had to be reduced, could be increased, and the College could now institute on their behalf a plan for retiring allowances.

While this appeal was being made, the Chancellor, Dr. John Austin Worrell, K.C., died on the twenty-seventh of February. He had been the most active member of the Corporation for many years, and had an unrivalled knowledge of the affairs of the College. He showed his confidence in the future of Trinity by arranging shortly before his death that his whole estate should ultimately revert to the College for the purpose of endowing professorships in the Department of Classics.⁹ Dr. Worrell's place as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Corporation was taken by Charles S. MacInnes, K.C., LL.D. '92, at one time a Fellow in the Department of Classics.¹⁰ From 1927 until the outbreak of the war in 1939, Dr. MacInnes devoted much of his time and attention to the affairs of the College and by his energy and skill contributed greatly to the solution of its most pressing problems.

In the late twenties and early thirties there was a considerable change in the personnel of the staff. In this period several staff members who are still teaching at the College in this centennial year began their long periods of service at Trinity. Professor R. K. Hicks came from Queen's University in 1927 to head the Department of French, being the first to

⁹Portrait heads of Dr. Seager and Dr. Worrell are cut in the corbels at the main entrance of the College.

¹⁰Since Dr. Worrell's death Trinity has not elected a Chancellor.

hold the W. R. Brock Chair in French; Professor G. M. A. Grube joined the staff in 1928 as Professor of Classics and became head of that department in 1931; Professor Lyndon Smith, a Rhodes Scholar from Trinity, came to the Divinity staff in 1931; and Professor C. Lewis joined the German Department in 1931. Among others who came to us to serve for shorter periods were Professor Felix Walter, who joined the French Department in 1930, and left the College to enter the Canadian forces where he did distinguished service as a colonel in the Intelligence Service; and Professor G. Wilson Knight, the first to fill the Chancellors' Chair in English, founded in 1931 by descendants and friends of former Chancellors of Trinity College. Of others appointed about that time one, the Very Reverend John Lowe, is now Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and has been recently Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; another, Dr. K. C. Evans, is Dean of Montreal; while a third, Dr. W. C. de Pauley, is Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin. In 1927, Professor R. E. L. Kittredge, who had joined the Department of French in 1911 and had been Professor and head of the Department since 1912, and who had done such excellent work in superintending the removal of the Library to Queen's Park, resigned from the staff.

In those early days at Queen's Park three notable Trinity figures, each of whom made a mark on Trinity life and traditions, finished their active service to the College: the Reverend Professor Henry Thomas Forbes Duckworth (Professor of Divinity 1901-7, Dean of Residence 1903-14, Professor of Greek 1907, Professor of Ancient History from 1912 until his death); Dr. Archibald Hope Young (Lecturer in Modern Languages 1892-1900, Librarian 1896-1902, Professor of Modern Languages 1900-5, Dean of Residence 1914-22, Professor of German from 1905 until his retirement in 1931); and the Reverend Canon William Rollo, a member of the Divinity staff from 1913, Professor of Divinity from 1915,

who retired in 1930. Since all of them have passed away¹¹ some memories of their vivid personalities should be permanently recorded in Trinity history along with recollections of earlier worthies.

Professor Duckworth was a fine scholar with a loyalty to scholarly truth which would not permit him to cheapen, diminish, or in any way distort the sacredness of historical fact. So earnest was his pursuit of the scholar's truth that he did not often permit humour to lower the tension of that search; many a student learnt from him the nature and worth of scholarly loyalty. But if in the classroom he reminded one a little of Browning's Grammian, there was another side of his character which endeared him to students. In friendly conversation or as an after-dinner speaker, humour and wit flashed forth through a natural shyness and a natural impassivity of countenance with an effect of the greatest charm. He had a loveable rough-hewnness of countenance of the kind that often goes with distinction of mind and character. Perhaps an irreverent undergraduate, unconcerned as yet with the polite pieties of official history, might have thought that his cast of countenance resembled in texture and feature that of a wooden African idol, not formidable but striking in its impassivity—all the more charming, then, was the wide smile which suddenly would transfigure the face to life and warm humanity.

This traditional Trinity jest is associated with Professor Duckworth (we hope, rightly). In the dark western wing of Old Trinity he came one day upon an undergraduate whose mother-nakedness was covered by nothing but a tattered gown and a nimbus of smoke from a cigarette. Wit and memory inspired Dean Duckworth to quote:

Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come. . . .

¹¹Professor Duckworth died in 1927, Professor Young in 1935, and Canon Rollo in 1949.

Professor A. H. Young, "Archie" Young to the generations of students who knew him, had in a high degree those qualities of wisdom and humanity which enable a good teacher to become in the memories of his students a symbol of the college in which he taught, as well as of his subject. He showed students how a humane mind could touch knowledge and bring it to life in the imagination. Memory reveals "Archie" Young discoursing with his slow and deliberate speech, digressing now and then from his subject into gnomic utterances about the art of living. He had a gentle humour, a whimsical and tolerant understanding of the rebellions of young students, but he could be firm as a rock when that was necessary. Or one pictures him in a Trinity blazer giving tea in his room in Old Trinity (he would never allow it to be called an "office"), stooping to poke the fire, then turning back with some remark, or perhaps some anecdote of men or events, spun out, and pitched deliberately in a key of low tension to put his students and guests at their ease. On the occasion of his retirement a dinner was held in his honour; it was attended by over four hundred persons, and messages, received from Trinity men and women in many parts of the world, showed the high esteem in which he was held. His portrait by Evan Macdonald, R.C.A., looks down from the walls of Strachan Hall. The white beard, the quizzical and kindly twinkle in the eyes, never seem more fittingly at home there than when, on the occasion of a College dance, he watches the stream of youth, perpetually renewed in Trinity, flow by him.

Remembering the special quality which Canon Rollo had for many, one thinks of the phrase "the good man and teacher." His prototype lived in *The Canterbury Tales*:

A good man was ther of religioun . . .
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
 That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche.

In his modesty Canon Rollo would certainly have denied the aptness of that ascription, but it is a true one. Like Bishop Strachan he had come to us from Scotland and there was Aberdeen granite in his integrity and sometimes a Gaelic lilt in his voice when he was thinking and speaking of the poetry of the Christian way of life, a subject on which he spoke with unassuming and natural simplicity, though with learning and wisdom, not merely because that was a part of his academic subject, but also because it was dear to his heart and the centre of his being. He had grown up in the hot turmoil of the Victorian controversies concerning the interplay of science and religion. Science was a lifelong interest which he would bring to bear in his lectures on dogmatic theology. To some of the "war generation," sharply caught by the challenge to many anciently revered beliefs and values, Canon Rollo's teachings may occasionally have seemed a little "old-fashioned," but upon every one of that generation who was capable of seeing how a man's life and character and quality of thought can bear testimony to the essential truth of a living faith, Canon Rollo's influence was very great.

The general business depression which began in the autumn of 1929 added to the financial difficulties of the colleges and universities in Canada. There was less interest from invested funds and many friends of these institutions were unable to continue making contributions for their maintenance. Trinity College was fortunate in having on its Corporation a considerable number of men who by their experience and ability were competent to deal with the serious financial and administrative problems which arose out of the depression. Largely at the suggestion of the late Mr. Kirwan Martin of Hamilton, the committees of Corporation had been reorganized and small bodies of men with the appropriate knowledge and experience were appointed to

advise the Executive Committee of Corporation. From that time to the present all the administrative and financial affairs of the College have been carefully considered at the monthly meetings of these sub-committees. We can form some estimate of the calibre of the men who have served on these committees by the names of Graham Campbell, Gerald Larkin, and Frank G. Venables, and some who have passed from us: F. Gordon Osler, Archibald H. Campbell, Victor R. Smith, Craufurd Martin, and Harry Keen.

The coming of the Second World War affected Trinity life in various ways. Those members of the staff who remembered the impact of the First World War on the College supposed that what had happened then would happen again. They remembered the gradually emptying rooms and corridors and classrooms until in 1917 there had been a mere handful of students left in residence.¹² Actually during the last war the decline in numbers was proportionately less, owing to the Government's policy of conscription, at least for home defence. Students were encouraged to feel that they would be called up when they were needed, and that in the meantime they would be serving best by preparing their minds and bodies for the responsibilities of command in war, or alternatively by preparing themselves to be leaders in the post-war world. Nevertheless there was a great deal of restlessness and of heart-searching, and it was often hard to teach and hard for students to set their minds and hearts on learning. Inevitably many students entered the Services before their college course was finished and once again, as had happened during the First World War, women were in the majority in most classes, even though a far larger proportion of women went into auxiliary services than in the earlier war. Those of us who taught during the war years saw students coming into College as boys, and each year we saw a class of serious and mature young men leave us for the Services, vanishing from our ken except for letters from

¹²See *supra*, p. 144.

overseas and for the growing list of names on the Roll of Service outside the College Library. Those who taught them wondered what things of the mind and spirit they might have carried with them from the classroom and from their College life. Once again khaki and the blue of Navy or Air Force blossomed on the campus and in the classroom. Lectures, of course, continued to be given, often on subjects that seemed far removed from the harsh and crude realities of war, and while a lecturer discussed, it might be, the civilized subtleties of Henry James there would come in at the window the sound of marching feet and of crisp commands as, to the north and south of Hoskin Avenue, men and women trained for overseas. Instructors could not but feel the irony of teaching a humane culture to those who must presently go to war. But the strange thing was to discover that in spite of restlessness a majority of students were almost tensely eager to seize what they might of the life of the mind, knowing that their time for it might be short.

From Trinity in the Second World War 918 men and 97 women enlisted, a total of 1,015. Of these, eight were members of the staff (five academic and three domestic), 546 were undergraduates, and 461 graduates and other alumni. Sixty-six were killed,¹³ thirty-seven wounded, and twelve became prisoners of war; six were invalided home and seventy-two others received their discharge before the end of hostilities. The honours awarded were as follows: of the Order of the British Empire two were made Commanders, eleven were made Officers and fifteen were made Members; one was made a Member of the Royal Red Cross and one an Associate Member; one was awarded the Military Medal and thirteen the Military Cross (one with bar), two the D.S.O., four the D.S.C., five the A.F.C., one the D.F.M., and ten the D.F.C. Sixteen were mentioned in despatches (one twice). Two received the Croix de Guerre (one with

¹³See Appendix, p. 299.

Gold Star) from the French Government, one the Bronze Star and one the Legion of Merit from the United States, and two were made officers of the Order of Orange Nassau with Swords by the Government of the Netherlands. A wood-framed Roll of Service containing, under the motto *Met' Agona Stephanos*, the names of all those on active service, was placed in the main corridor of the College early in the war and extended from time to time until its close. It gives the academic year of all who enlisted, and indicates those who were killed, or taken prisoner, or who received any decoration for their services. A permanent record awaits the building of the College chapel, in which it will hold an honoured place.

Much of the restlessness of the war years, the sense that one's future was uncertain and that the culture one learnt was out of gear with the reality of a world growing increasingly barbarous, has persisted since the war. It has been a difficult era in which to teach effectively and in which to learn. As the war progressed, however, more and more returned men began to come back to college. They brought with them an earnestness and steadiness of purpose and a maturity of experience which had a very marked effect on class atmosphere and college life.

There were some hundreds of veterans at the College after the war. Their average age must have been about four years older than that of those fresh from school. It was shown once again, as after 1918, that even a long period spent quite away from books and formal study nevertheless brings, apart altogether from a deepening of purpose, that sense of proportion and quick intellectual grasp which is summed up in the word maturity. These men and women did much, both in class and outside, to imbue their juniors with seriousness. All who taught them felt the finer quality of response from this generation. Even after their departure one can observe a more active and critical spirit among their successors than was common before the war.

TRINITY AT QUEEN'S PARK

The need of new residences was felt more and more acutely as the years passed. It was clear that the College could not do its best work until both Trinity House and the houses on St. George Street in which women students were accommodated were replaced by regular residences built for the purpose. The new St. Hilda's came first. In 1937 the women graduates and others interested subscribed the necessary amount of money, and a fine building including a recreation room appropriately called Cartwright Hall was erected on Devonshire Place.¹⁴ In the meantime, in the College building, a distinguished graduate of the College had furnished an additional common room in honour of Trinity Rhodes Scholars present and future. An energetic building committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Gerald Larkin was charged with the duty of exploring the problem of new buildings for Trinity. Before long a most generous gift enabled Trinity to build two blocks adjoining the east and west ends of the administration building.¹⁵ Included in these new buildings were a Senior and Junior Common Room, Strachan Hall with a recreation room (the Rounthwaite Room) beneath it, kitchens with the best possible equipment, an infirmary, and above all the long-desired residences large enough to accommodate about seventy-five students. These three new residence units have been named respectively Welch House, Whitaker House, and West House. Two residences on St. George Street accommodate an additional number of freshmen. Portrait heads of Provost Cosgrave and Archbishop Owen were cut in the quadrangle entrance to Strachan Hall, similar to those of Dr. Seager and Chancellor Worrell at the entrance to the administration building. The first sod for these new buildings was turned in April 1940, by His Honour Judge F. M. Morson, '73, the oldest living Trinity graduate, and they were officially opened by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario in September 1941.

¹⁴See chapter ix below.

¹⁵These buildings, like the new St. Hilda's, were designed by George and Moorhouse.

The new buildings made a great difference in Trinity life. Trinity House, the remodelled apartment building, was no longer a part of Trinity; in its place there were suitable residences adjoining the rest of the Trinity buildings. The residential system, always a fundamental feature of Trinity's educational principles, could be continued under far more favourable circumstances even though, with the greatly increased number of non-residents in the College, it could never perform the same unifying function that it had on Queen Street.¹⁶

The building of the new Strachan Hall was scarcely less important in its effect on College life. Once again after sixteen years Trinity had a fine hall as a centre for its social life.¹⁷ Well-remembered portraits which once presided over College gatherings in the hall of Old Trinity are back in their places. Bishop Strachan and Provost Whitaker confront the visitor or the student as he enters at the south door. Chancellors, Provosts, and other distinguished men of Old Trinity hold a place on the side wall and to them have been added portraits of three men who belonged both to Old and to New Trinity—Provost Seager, Provost Cosgrave, and Professor Young. Over the south entrance is a minstrel's gallery, and above that the Royal Coat of Arms was added in 1946 to mark the fact that Trinity was founded by Royal Charter. The hall now accommodated all Trinity students and staff except for a brief period after the war during the high peak of enrolment, when some students had to take turns for lunch or else overflow downstairs to "the Buttery."

¹⁶In some ways the move to the new residences in spite of its many striking advantages, had more serious effects upon what might be called the unity of the undergraduate body. This was partly due to the war conditions at the time of the move, which meant that the proportion of younger men to seniors was high for several years. After the war three outside residences were still needed to accommodate the increased number of Trinity residents, and one outside residence to accommodate St. Hilda's residents.

¹⁷A member of Corporation donated the fine tables and chairs with which Strachan Hall is furnished.

After the years of apartment house residence, Trinity now possessed a place where students could dine together in dignified and fitting surroundings, and where convocations, dances, and large social gatherings could be held. For instance, in 1950 the annual series of public lectures by members of the staff, formerly given in Lent in Old Trinity, and given for a time in the thirties in the College Chapel, could now be revived in a suitable hall. Immediately after its erection, the tradition of holding Sunday evening concerts there, at which either talented students or professional musicians perform, was instituted by the late Mr. Campbell MacInnes. Strachan Hall has been a distinct addition to the amenities of Toronto in that the Earle Grey Players have for the last three summers given Shakespearean plays either in the Quadrangle or, in bad weather, in the Hall, in an architectural setting in harmony with the plays. The erection of Strachan Hall made it possible to invite the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada to hold its sessions there in September 1943. Exactly fifty years before, in 1893, the first session of the General Synod had been held in Old Trinity College.¹⁸

In November 1944, in the last year of the war, Provost Cosgrave announced his intention of retiring in June 1945. He had reached the official retiring age for staff members of the College and to the regret of everyone who knew the nature of his service to the College he firmly asserted his belief that his successor should be appointed at once so that, before the end of the war brought the heavy responsibilities that would ensue from the large influx of men and women from the Services, he might have time to become familiar with the duties of his office. What Provost Cosgrave had

¹⁸By a strange coincidence the President of the Synod of 1943 (the Most Reverend D. T. Owen), the Prolocutor and Deputy Prolocutor of the Lower House (Canon H. F. D. Woodcock and Dr. R. V. Harris, K.C.), and the Secretaries of the Upper and Lower Houses (Canon W. E. Kidd and Canon F. J. Sawers) were all Trinity graduates.

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

accomplished for Trinity is well described in an official minute of the Executive Committee of Corporation:

The eighteen years ¹⁹ of his Provostship have probably been the most outstanding in the whole history of the College. The academic standard of the graduates and undergraduates has never been higher, and the list of scholarships won during his incumbency includes eight Rhodes Scholarships, several John H. Moss Scholarships, a Guggenheim Fellowship, and many others. The addition of well-qualified professors and lecturers to the academic staff and their original contributions to learning and research; the development and improvement of the Library for which generous grants have been obtained from the Carnegie Corporation, as well as bequests of private collections of books from friends of the College; the large increase in number and value of scholarships, exhibitions, and student loan funds; the outstanding place which Trinity College holds in the University of Toronto; and the erection of the new St. Hilda's College and the splendid new men's residence and . . . Great Hall are due in large measure to the leadership and personality of the Provost. Of him it may well be said—"A great man who neither sought nor shunned greatness, who found glory only because glory lay in the plain path of duty."²⁰

On the sixteenth of November 1944, the Very Reverend Reginald Sidney Kingsley Seeley, D.D., Dean of Ontario, was unanimously elected the seventh Provost of Trinity, to assume his duties in the following June. He came to his office in the prime of life, at the age of thirty-seven, with a rich background of scholarly and administrative experience. He had been a scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; Tancred Student and Bell Exhibitioner in 1927; Curate of Rugby 1932-34; Chaplain of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1934-38; Professor of Exegetical Theology in St. John's College, Winnipeg, and Canon of St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, 1938-43; Warden of St. John's College in 1941. He had been Rector of St. George's Church, Kingston, and Dean of Ontario since 1943. The degree of D.D. (*honoris causa*) had been conferred upon him by St. John's College in 1943.

¹⁹Nineteen years, by June 1945.

²⁰Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, November 16, 1944.

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In the late forties a major crisis in the College's finances arose and an active group of alumni organized a drive for funds among the alumni themselves. Their will and energy was an active force in blunting the impact, if not solving the problem, of increasing annual deficits. Thanks to their efforts the office of Convocation was reorganized on a permanent basis to carry on their work, Dr. J. A. Philip being appointed Executive Secretary in December 1949.²¹

During the last fifteen years in Queen's Park there were many changes in the staff. The death of the Bursar, Mr. Sydney H. Jones, in 1937 ended a life largely devoted to Trinity College and allied institutions such as Bishop Strachan School. His successor as Bursar and Superintendent of Buildings was Mr. Elliot G. Strathy. Many new members joined the staff in the period shortly before or during the Second World War, a number of whom were graduates of Trinity. It is desirable that a just balance should be maintained between fidelity to tradition and receptivity towards new ideas from without. Fortunately the new appointments to the academic staff in the past fifteen years have been divided in due proportion between alumni and scholars from outside. Among those who retired from active teaching at Trinity during those years were a number who had given long and devoted service to the College, all of them men or women of stature as teachers and scholars and all of them remembered with affection by the generations of students whose education they had a hand in moulding. Professor W. A. Kirkwood retired from teaching in 1939 but held the post of Dean of Arts until 1943. Professor J. N. Woodcock

²¹The office of Convocation, as an administrative organization under Convocation, had its beginnings in the twenties. The Reverend Sidney Childs, as Secretary, was then assigned as his principal task the recruiting of students. So well was this performed that it ceased to be urgent soon after the removal of the College to Queen's Park. The office of Convocation then undertook routine duties connected with alumni activities and the collection and acknowledgment of subscriptions to the Convocation Fund. Miss Jacqueline Martin, a graduate of the College, has been, since she entered this office, the moving spirit in maintaining contact with alumni.

retired from teaching in 1939 and as the Registrar of the College in 1943.²² He had joined the Department of Classics in 1907 and Professor Kirkwood in 1909. The Venerable Archdeacon J. B. Fotheringham, a much-loved Trinity personality, whose teaching in the Faculty of Divinity had begun in 1907 and had continued with some breaks in the sequence and sometimes as an additional duty to his career in the active ministry of the Church, retired in 1951. Dr. S. A. B. Mercer, a distinguished orientalist, who had joined the Divinity staff as Professor in 1923, retired in 1946. Miss Laila C. Scott, an honour graduate of Trinity who had joined the staff of the German Department in 1916 (Associate Professor since 1923), retired in 1951. Miss Gertrude Morley, who had joined the Classics Department in 1919, retired in 1947. All of these men and women, though they have retired, still belong to the larger Trinity community where, happily, their friendship can still be enjoyed by their former colleagues and by the many students whom they taught. But in the last decade two Trinity figures, each of whom in his own way contributed to that tradition of a College which is made not out of brick and stone but out of the living efforts of teachers, have passed away from the Trinity community. Professor Herbert Clayton Simpson died in 1947, Professor L. C. A. Hodgins in 1948. It is fitting that we should quote words from the tribute to their memory delivered to the meeting of the Corporation of Trinity.

Professor Simpson was born in Northampton, England, and received his early education at Magdalen College School and at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1896, he came to Canada as Lecturer and Fellow in the Department of Physics and Chemistry in Trinity College. In 1900 he was appointed Lecturer in English and in 1907 Professor and Head of the Department. In this position he served the College ably for more than forty years. . . .

²²The following were Registrars of the College during the period 1925-52: Professor W. A. Kirkwood (1914-23), Professor J. N. Woodcock (1923-43), Professor R. K. Hicks (1943 to the present). Professor Hicks has been Dean of Arts since 1950.

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Generations of students knew him as a ripe scholar widely versed in English literature, a scientist with a well trained mind, a philosopher, mellow and human. Essentially and notably witty he was ever kind and tolerant. By the charm of his high spirits he was an unfailing inspiration to his students and a constant support to his colleagues. Modest, generous and retiring he was to his intimates an unchanging friend and counsellor.²³

Lloyd Clifford Arnott Hodgins entered Trinity College with the Burnside Scholarship in English and History in 1900 and graduated with a First Class in these departments. After a period of study and of teaching in the United States he was appointed in 1920 to the teaching staff of this University and served as Professor of English [1922-1947] and Dean of Residence [1922-26]. In the academic, administration and athletic life of the College he took a zealous and active interest. He retired in December, 1947 after twenty-seven years of service. Beloved by the students, respected by the graduates and trusted by his fellow-workers on the staff he made a worthy contribution to the history of this College.²⁴

At the first College function held in the new Strachan Hall in 1941, a speaker, in proposing a toast to the College, had commented on the fact that while New Trinity reproduced many of the architectural features of the old building it was not, and ought not to be, exactly the same, and he remarked that the life of a college does not lie in the permanence of stone, but in the living generations of teachers and students who compose it, and that traditions ought not to be fixed and immutable but should develop and alter flexibly and organically with the generations.

Indeed, for better and sometimes for worse, many changes have come to Trinity life during the quarter of a century in Queen's Park. Some Trinity customs, founded in far-off decades, have either vanished or have been so changed that it is doubtful whether their founders would recognize them. No longer do year yells (from the earliest years present to the latest) and "Auld Lang Syne" resound in the darkened Hall

²³Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, May 15, 1947.

²⁴Ibid., November 18, 1948.

after dances and College functions. *Met' Agona* is still sung, though few students seem to know more than the words of the chorus. Even the colour of Trinity's blazer has altered, for graduate students, from red to blue. If Strachan Hall is the centre of Trinity's formal social life, the Rounthwaite Room, commonly called "the Buttery," is certainly the centre of informal social life. Here sandwiches and coffee may be bought and consumed at small tables. The Buttery might have proved to be nothing but a coffee-shop, but in it instructors often find themselves meeting their students after class without premeditation and being drawn into further discussion of points raised in class. Here students may have among themselves those informal conversations in which mind sharpens itself against mind and which are so important a part of a student's education.

Trinity institutions have had their ups and downs. Father Episkopon still observes the *mores* of Trinity students. The "Conversat." survives and flourishes. New societies like the Arts and Letters Club come and go. The Glee Club, once a popular feature of College life in the old building, is no more, but its place has been taken by the Trinity Dramatic Society which began in the early twenties in Old Trinity and which now gives two or three performances a year.

Over the years, the Dramatic Society has done notable work and at almost every point has had talent at its disposal. In each year since 1927, except for three years during the war, it has put on a full-length play. In addition, it has performed many shorter plays, both as part of the University Drama Festival and within the College. Talks on drama, acting, stage management, and make-up have filled out the annual programme. The use of Cartwright Hall at St. Hilda's opened up new possibilities which have been eagerly exploited. During this period the Society has been constantly encouraged by the experience and ready help of Professor Hicks, while the major productions, usually given in Hart

House Theatre, have commanded the services of some distinguished directors (including, outside the College, Edgar Stone, Dixon Wagner, Earle Grey, and Herbert Whittaker). Some of the productions have been very polished and distinguished in direction, acting, and sets, while the prompter has never played a major role. When Mr. Wilson Knight was on the staff, many members of the Society took part in his Shakespearean productions, and since Mr. Robert Gill has been director of Hart House Theatre they have taken a prominent part in plays produced by him. "What, No Crumpets!" (1947-48) and "Saints Alive" (1948-49)²⁵ were entirely new ventures into musical comedy; although not sponsored by the Society, they were triumphantly successful. The Dons' Play has become a somewhat intermittent tradition, with a record of eight plays, of which two were revived later, in twenty years. Starting modestly in Room 4 and graduating to Hart House Theatre, they have given pleasure to large audiences and have aided the exchequer of the Dramatic Society.²⁶

The Trinity College Literary Institute ("The Lit.") has had its share of ups and downs, sometimes attracting a group of the brightest students and sometimes appearing to survive only because no one had the initiative to administer the *coup de grâce*. A fine flowering in the thirties found the leaders also participating heavily in the Hart House Debates; the war brought a break in the tradition of Friday evenings and

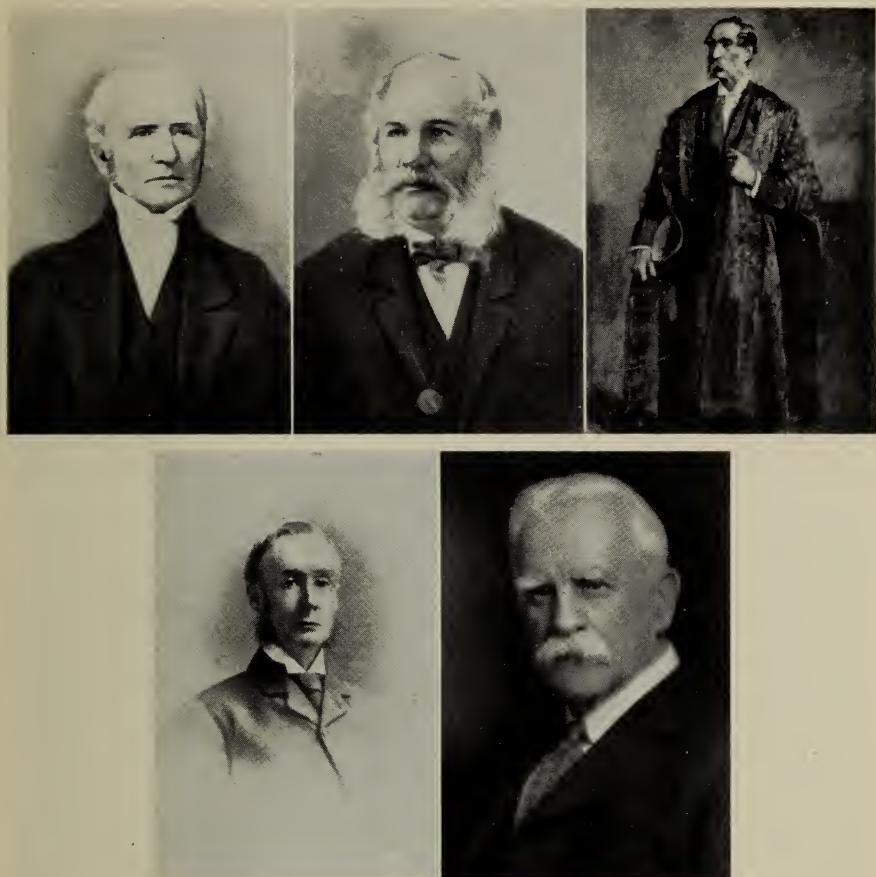
²⁵Both plays by Ronald Bryden, '50, with music by Keith MacMillan, '49.

²⁶The following is a list of full-length plays produced by the Dramatic Society during the twenty-five years in Queen's Park: *Cyrano de Bergerac* (in translation), 1927-28; *The Dragon*, 1928-29; *Trelawney of the Wells*, 1929-30; *The Three Sisters*, 1930-31; *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1931-32; *The Beaux' Stratagem*, 1932-33; *See Naples and Die*, 1933-34; *Berkeley Square*, 1934-35; *Jonah and the Whale*, 1935-36; *The Tidings Brought to Mary* (in translation) 1936-37; *The Perfect Alibi*, 1937-38; *Hay Fever*, 1938-39; *The Romantic Young Lady*, 1939-40; *Symphony in Two Flats*, 1940-41; *The Male Animal*, 1941-42; 1942-45, no full-length plays; *Chicken Every Sunday*, 1945-46; *Getting Married*, 1946-47; *The Wild Duck*, 1947-48; *The Linden Tree*, 1948-49; *Vanity Fair*, 1949-50; *The Enchanted* (in translation), 1950-51; *Tartuffe* (in translation), 1951-52.

of regular weekly debates. The enthusiasm of the immediate post-war years partly by-passed the Lit. Topical subjects have alternated with old stand-bys, serious with flippant. Joint debates with St. Hilda's have maintained a particular type of popularity, but the short experiment of inviting the "Saints" to all debates was not successful. Taking all things into account the Lit. is, at the time of writing, in as strong a position as it has held in the last twenty-five years, and presents less need for the reminder that numbers are not everything, which has been the comfort of some periods. Many distinguished debaters have passed out of the Lit.; some of them being formed from what at first seemed recalcitrant material, others polished by experience in a not too easy school.

In the new setting in Queen's Park, *The Trinity University Review* has not merely maintained the tradition developed under Dr. Young. It has continued to foster original composition in verse and prose and has even achieved the distinction, rare for an undergraduate journal, of mention by the late E. K. Brown in his annual review of poetry in "Letters in Canada" in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. It has also been deposited regularly in the Junior Common Room of a university in a sister Dominion in the hope that it would inspire emulation. Although the summer issue is now a year book, recording in detail and with photographs the activities of College societies, the other issues give themselves whole-heartedly to literary creation and display great catholicity of taste. *The Review's* prosperity is not injured by the founding of two other undergraduate publications: *The Riot*, which makes a sporadic and often spirited appearance, and *Saltterrae*, a mimeographed leaflet of Trinity news.

Just before the recent war *The Review* had the great good fortune to receive powerful reinforcement by its amalgamation with *The St. Hilda's Chronicle*. Under that arrangement men and women have shared in perfect unity and equality



THE CHANCELLORS OF TRINITY COLLEGE

above

Sir John Beverley Robinson, B.T., 1853-1862
The Honourable John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., 1863-1877
The Honourable George William Allan 1877-1901

below

Christopher Robinson, K.C., 1902-1905
John Austin Worrell, K.C., 1914-1927



FOUR PROVOSTS OF TRINITY COLLEGE

Dr. E. A. Welch 1895-1899

Dr. F. H. Cosgrave 1926-1945

Dr. C. A. Seager 1921-1926

Dr. R. S. K. Seeley 1945-



PRINCIPALS OF ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE

Miss Ellen Patteson 1888-1903

Miss Mabel Cartwright 1903-1936

Miss Mary E. Strachan (Assistant 1908-1919)

Mrs. W. A. Kirkwood 1936-



ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE 1899-1925

ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE 1938



ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE

The first students 1888: Miss Mina Elliott,
Miss Mabel Cartwright, Miss Constance
Laing, Miss Ethel Middleton, Miss Ellen
Patteson, *Principal*

The laying of the corner-stone 1937.
Dr. M. Cartwright and Archbishop
Owen

At the opening of the new building September 1938. Dr. Cartwright, Mrs. Albert
Matthews, Mrs. W. A. Kirkwood



ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE: HOCKEY TEAM 1904-1905

Emily M. Shepherd, Gladys Greenwood, Caroline MacGregor, Isabel Jackson,
Jean Walker, Frances Endacott, Laila Scott, Margaret Haney, Christine Kammerer

ST. HILDA'S: THE LIBRARY 1939

TRINITY COLLEGE : THE FIRST BOARD OF STEWARDS 1935-1936

From left to right, standing: R. G. Gray, L. H. Morgan, G. Edison, F. G. Ongley, E. A. Welch, seated: W. H. Arison, W. H. Broughall, Dr. G. F. Kingston (*Chairman*), J. F. Hinchliffe, G. Ignatieff



ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE 1924-1925



From left to right, standing: R. Turnbull, J. O. Klaehn, T. H. Taylor, W. H. Waugh, W. L. Wright, J. L. Hutchinson; seated: E. Brillingier, Dr. G. F. Kingston (*Treasurer*), R. S. S. Chaffe (*President*), F. A. M. Smith (*Vice-President*), D. Wilson (*Secretary*)

the positions on the board. It was probably only the presence of a succession of able women which enabled publication to continue throughout the period when so few men were present. The very responsible and onerous duties of the business manager have always been performed with remarkable efficiency by undergraduates.

Another highly important change concerns the relations of *The Review* with Convocation. This body had, since 1889, given generous support both by its subvention and its subscriptions and through the counsel of its representative on *The Review* board. Mr. W. G. Colgate for many years rendered this valuable service. After the Second World War, the vast increase in size and in the scale of activities of both the undergraduate and the graduate bodies made necessary the separation of the old Convocation Notes from *The Review* and their appearance in much greater detail in a monthly bulletin. At the same time, Convocation continued its financial support and thus made possible the survival of *The Review* in a difficult period. The knowledge that they are writing for other generations besides their own is a valuable discipline for undergraduates. It is good, also, that the older generations should be enabled to keep in touch with the minds of their successors.

As in Trinity's institutions, so in her educational problems and methods there have been both changes and permanencies. The last quarter-century has seen a large increase in the size of the College community. The expansion immediately after the move to Queen's Park was rapid, and it became necessary to limit the number of undergraduates to 325. This number was more than doubled just after the Second World War, and it has declined relatively slightly since then, for Trinity reflects the increased demand for a university education which has become evident throughout Canada. It is everywhere admitted that universities now more than ever incur the danger of being turned into mass-production

establishments where large classes listen for the minimum information required by the examiners. Trinity has always laid stress on the importance of live contact between teachers and taught and has striven, successfully it is believed, to maintain this relation in the new and more difficult conditions. The true aim of education, the development of the whole man, has been kept steadily in mind and the value of study for its own sake, and not as a means of passing examinations, has remained our aim.

The College has never tried to hand pick the applicants for admission. It is, indeed, less well endowed with scholarships than some of its sister colleges, yet the quality of its students has remained remarkably high. It has never looked with favour upon a too-exclusive concern with studies, and its men and women, even the most successful academically, have almost always taken their full part in College and University activities. But study must be the supreme concern. It is noteworthy that in this centenary year the Provost has with great success inaugurated a ceremony for the Admission of Scholars, in which annually the achievements of the College's more gifted members will be fitly honoured.

Teaching methods have by no means remained unchanged. The College has not rested content with the time-honoured method whereby the professor alone gives utterance. There has been a steady development of the "seminar" or discussion method designed to induce a more active participation by the student in the work of a group. This is now the recognized ideal of instruction, but elsewhere the excessive numbers of students often make it impossible. Our own seminars are usually just right for the method, which requires about a dozen pupils for its most effective operation. If the number be too small, it may not include the two or three exceptionally able and vigorous students whose example is often of incalculable benefit to their fellows. In

every possible way the student is now encouraged to abandon the old passive attitude in favour of active participation. To some extent this has been easier to foster owing to the necessity, forced upon us by the limited number of lecture rooms, of taking classes in the professors' offices, where the prevailing atmosphere is less formal. Where the old lecture technique is retained, it is now easier for the lecturer to do justice to the specific needs of the group. If the aim of education is to "humanize man in society," the first step in the process must be to turn the class itself into a human society of individuals equally engaged in the pursuit of humane learning.

Another and most effective means of knowing the students personally has been provided by the institution of the tutorial system in 1946. Upon enrolment, each man and woman is assigned for the first college year to a tutor, whose duty it is to supervise more closely than would be possible for the Registrar the student's work and general activities in connection with the College life. In most cases it will happen that the tutor is not formally teaching his pupil, or "tutee," as he has somewhat regrettably come to be called. His task is rather to take advantage of the softening process set in motion by the judicious administration of food and drink in order to induce in his protégés that confiding mood in which they will freely seek such counsel as an older person may offer. The system has certainly not solved all our problems. Some students remain deaf to all offers of hospitality and shun all the chances for sage advice held so temptingly before them. There have, however, undoubtedly been many students who have been rescued by their tutor from unsuitable courses (academic certainly, and social perhaps), and have been helped to adjust themselves to the new and strange responsibilities and freedoms which come to them at college. It is certainly a great gain that in College Committee we now seem to possess a more assured knowledge of our

students than was sometimes the case when numbers were smaller.

A measure of co-operation with other colleges has often enabled us to obtain just the right number of students for the discussion group. At the same time much duplication of teaching has been avoided and teachers have been able to devote more effort to developing special interests in their studies. It is certainly a great gain that students should come in contact with a wider range of minds and methods than would be possible if they were to remain throughout their four years solely in the hands of the two or three professors in a College department. It is desirable also that they should not graduate without having heard scholars of distinction who teach elsewhere in the University.

The move to Queen's Park had important consequences for the teaching staff no less than for the undergraduates. Its members were brought into much closer relations with their Arts colleagues in other colleges and have played their full part in the vital work of administration as members of a multiplicity of committees of the Council of the Faculty of Arts and of the Senate. In scholarly production the staff well holds its own with the rest of the University. This is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the important part played by Trinity in the University's School of Graduate Studies. This School, which for many years owed so much to the late Dean Brett, once a well-loved Trinity figure, has been thoroughly reorganized since the recent war to enable it to offer teaching on the highest level and to take, if possible, a position of equality with the graduate schools of the great American universities. Under the present system each subject of study is under a permanent chairman, and one of these appointments has recently been given to a member of the Trinity staff. The share taken by our staff in the teaching of graduates is high in relation to its numbers. The work is of the utmost importance in keeping our scholars abreast of de-

velopments in their fields and undoubtedly imparts greater vigour and freshness to their teaching at the undergraduate level as well. In this connection it should be stated that several Trinity professors have been invited to teach graduates in the summer schools of Columbia, Chicago, and Wisconsin.

During the period in Queen's Park there have been four major developments in the Faculty of Divinity. (1) Under the firm hand of Dean Lowe²⁷ academic standards were raised and maintained, so that the College was able to secure accreditation by the American Association of Theological Schools. Trinity graduates can now be accepted, without condition, for graduate study at any of the major centres of theological learning. (2) In 1943, the staff joined with the staffs of Emmanuel, Knox, and Wycliffe Colleges to form the Toronto Graduate School of Theological Studies, a co-operative teaching and examining body which recommends properly qualified graduate students for the degree of M.Th. to each of the four Colleges. (3) The next few years saw the establishment of a new curriculum consisting of required courses in the major theological disciplines and a wide range of elective courses. This enables the student to specialize, and to prepare for the degree of S.T.B., established by the Corporation in 1951, in accordance with the general provisions of the American Association for students of high standing. (4) In response to the persistent demand for more practical training, an increasing emphasis has been laid on the use of the two summers during the course for clinical pastoral training in hospitals, penal institutions, and rural

²⁷Dr. John Lowe, now Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was Dean of the Faculty of Divinity from 1933 to 1939. Others who have served in this position since the removal of the College to Queen's Park have been the Reverend Dr. K. C. Evans from 1940 to 1944 and the Reverend Dr. C. R. Feilding from 1944 to the present time. Under the old statutes the office of Dean of Divinity was joined to that of the Provost. The growth of the College since Federation has led to a separation of these offices. The first Dean of Divinity apart from the Provost was the Reverend Dr. T. S. Boyle, appointed in 1912.

institutes. During the academic year all students are required to take some practical part in the life of a parish, and all this activity is now supervised by a Director of Field Work. In these ways it has been possible to avoid the introduction of too many "practical" courses into the curriculum to the detriment of the major theological disciplines, and at the same time to provide the student with an increased amount of supervised pastoral training. The future will probably see further development along these lines as opportunities for clinical training open up in Canada.

A Conference of Clerical Alumni of the College has been held annually in the month of September since 1922, except in the years 1931 and 1943 when the General Synod met in Toronto. The lectures endowed by the late Dean George Lothrop Starr²⁸ of Kingston have been an important feature of these conferences. The first Dean Starr Lecturer was the late Bishop Charles H. Brent, '84, in the year 1923, and since that time many distinguished scholars from Great Britain, the United States, and Canada have delivered the Starr Lectures. For nearly twenty years the Reverend Harry S. Musson and the late Mrs. Musson gave a reception for the members of the Conference and their wives at the Toronto Hunt Club, and many clerical graduates of the College still speak of these gatherings and of the witty speeches made by their host and hostess in reply to votes of thanks tendered to them.

Trinity has held fast to the best in its educational tradition. It has begun to develop new methods designed to preserve that tradition in new and more difficult conditions. There is room for much greater development and a need for yet greater freedom to experiment. More space is an urgent need for offices and seminars and all the amenities which promote personal and individual contacts. If Trinity is enabled to continue to experiment, her example may greatly

²⁸George Lothrop Starr, '95, D.D. '14, Rector of St. George's Cathedral and Dean of Ontario.

TRINITY AT QUEEN'S PARK

benefit higher education in Toronto and in the country at large.

These are some of the educational concerns which seem uppermost in the minds of those who teach in Trinity in this year of Trinity's Centenary. The latter half of Trinity's first hundred years has seen changes in the world more far reaching and violent than those which occurred in the preceding five centuries. To the accompaniment of two world wars and of world revolutions we have moved from the horse-and-buggy era into the age of the air and finally into the atomic age. Our culture was born and bred in a framework of Christian influences to which it seems to be growing increasingly indifferent. Trinity College was founded in an ancient and revered faith and in a culture and a theory of education developed through centuries, and successfully transplanted a hundred years ago to a new college in a new land. How much of our spiritual ethos can we carry with us over currents of change so swift and so troubled? Let that historian who in A.D. 2052 will tell the story of Trinity's second hundred years, answer this question.

CHAPTER NINE

ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE

1888-1936

HELEN GREGORY, afterwards better known as Judge MacGill of the Vancouver Juvenile Court, was the first woman to apply for admission as a student at Trinity College. She entered in 1884 and after receiving the degrees of Mus. Bac. in 1886 and B.A. in 1889 took her M.A. in 1890. She had all her lectures at Trinity and was never enrolled at St. Hilda's.

Meanwhile higher education for women was becoming a problem which the Provost, the Reverend C. W. E. Body, faced with far-sighted statesmanship and an understanding mind. He was resolved that women undergraduates should have, as far as possible, all the privileges which the Trinity Charter secured for men.

His excellent judgment was shown in the appointment of Miss Ellen Patteson, later Mrs. Rigby, as the first Principal, the two working together most harmoniously in the founding of a new college. Miss Patteson was the eldest daughter of George Lee Patteson, of London, England, a cousin of the heroic Bishop John Coleridge Patteson, of Melanesia, and was intimately connected with the Coleridge family. On the death of her father, she came to Canada with her family and took up teaching as a life-work. For a short time she was on the staff of Miss Machin's well-known school in Quebec, and for many years she was governess in the family of the Honourable G. W. Allan, Chancellor of Trinity University. A tribute to her has come from a member of the class of '04:

Mrs. Rigby was gracious . . . she must have made us utterly at ease in any circumstances. She never made us feel inadequate. . . . When I was

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with her I was too young and inexperienced to study her character. Looking back, comparing her with other women I have worked with (occupying positions of similar opportunities and responsibilities), I realize she was outstanding. Not in the way she dealt with crises—the way she forestalled crises. Her discipline was the kind one doesn't notice, one just gets comfort and security from it. As a girl, I could not understand or appreciate her. I only loved her.

St. Hilda's, like Trinity, was a religious foundation. Its name came from the great woman of Whitby, Yorkshire, who combined in herself devotion, learning, and statesmanship and who has given her name to so many educational and missionary institutions in different parts of the world. Taking as its motto, *Timor Dei Principium Sapientiae*, the new College began with the Principal and two resident students in a house on Euclid Avenue, rented at twenty dollars a month. The Principal's salary was to be \$500 a year and it was suggested that the yearly fees be \$250. For three years subscriptions were sought and, at the end of the first year, May 1889, the income amounted to \$1,659, with disbursements of \$1,442. The first move was to a pair of houses on Shaw Street in 1889; the next to two larger houses on the same street in 1892, with a house adjoining added in 1895.

Under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Toronto, a Council had been formed, its first recorded meeting being held in January 1888, the Reverend J. C. Roper acting as secretary and the Honourable G. W. Allan, the Chancellor, signing the minutes. The Charter, dated the eleventh of February 1890, contains the declaration for the incorporation of St. Hilda's College, which was to provide higher education for women, in affiliation with Trinity University, the trustees or managing directors to be called the Council of St. Hilda's College. The minutes of the Council meetings give a clear picture of the difficulties of the undertaking, and the time, care, and patience devoted to establishing this new institution. Various methods to raise funds were begun. For instance, in the first year, a series of ambulance lectures were given by the staff of Trinity Medical College and

"every year the friends of St. Hilda's devise some scheme for adding to the building fund."

In 1893 extensive "immediate repairs" were needed on the occupied houses and it was thought the time had come to appoint a sub-committee to consider the matter of a permanent residence. Although the depressed state of business forbade any immediate action, it was not long before a committee was appointed to study ways and means of raising an adequate sum for the building. It was decided that the location should be close to Trinity College. The College authorities were asked for a loan of \$7,000, on condition that the Council of St. Hilda's should raise an equal amount. Professor William Jones generously offered a loan of \$10,000, until the number of students increased to fifteen. With this support and faith in the future, the new building was begun and Her Excellency the Countess of Minto laid the cornerstone on the fourth of April 1899.

The new building, designed by Mr. Eden Smith with suggestions from Miss Mary Elizabeth Strachan, and financed by the generosity of Dr. Jones and the devoted members of the Council, was remarkably well suited to its purpose. Situated on the northwest corner of Trinity's grounds, the windows of its long front looked south, so that the sun poured into many of the rooms, while north and east sides looked out upon the picturesque Gore Vale ravine. A distinctive feature, adding much to the sense of spaciousness of the whole building, was the main staircase, a gift from Dr. Jones. The students' rooms, well lighted and comfortable, many with attractive small fire-places, were naturally the centre of much of the social life of the undergraduates; the L-shaped dining and common rooms with their folding doors could easily be thrown into one; while the large, well-lighted kitchen and pantry, opening from the dining room, were efficiently planned for the serving of meals.

In the meantime, Miss Patteson had become Mrs. Rigby, by her marriage with the Reverend Oswald Rigby, Dean of

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Residence of Trinity, in June 1896. An undergraduate of the time has reported on what she terms "the chief event of the year":

After one of the Lenten lectures, in 1896, the Dean accompanied Miss Patteson to St. Hilda's. The engagement was announced and the wedding took place in June, a few days after Convocation. At the church, St. Mary Magdalene, we got a real surprise. Where was the shepherd check tailored wool dress, with buttoned basque and little velvet details, the cute little bonnet with flowers and veil? It was a hot day and Miss Patteson had chosen a mauve and white seersucker dress and a shady white hat. . . . For the rest of my time, we lived in Shaw Street, the Dean and Mrs. Rigby in 331, we in 333 and 335. Of course, we watched the slow building progress and hoped that we might, at least, move before we left.

The east end of the new building became the home of Dr. and Mrs. Rigby, with sitting room, study, and office on the ground floor, bedrooms on the floor above, and doors dividing both floors from the students' quarters. When this division was no longer needed, the doors were removed and the extra rooms freed for students.

The genial reign of Dr. and Mrs. Rigby came to an end in 1903, by the appointment of Dr. Rigby as headmaster of Trinity College School, Port Hope. Miss Mabel Cartwright, the newly appointed Principal, entered upon her duties that year. She was the daughter of John Robison Cartwright, Deputy Attorney-General for Ontario, and had been educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College and Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University, where she obtained honours in the School of Modern History. Miss Cartwright taught in Oxford High School and in Bishop Strachan School, Toronto, for four years, before her appointment to St. Hilda's. Conditions were changing because of the increase in the number of students and the recently accomplished federation with the University of Toronto; but difficulties were gradually overcome and the necessary adjustments made. A small advisory committee of four men and women, in 1903 and for several succeeding years, gave most welcome and ready help in the

solution of problems which were bound to occur and special thanks are due to Professor G. Oswald Smith, Professor Michael Mackenzie, and Mr. Fraser Scott who acted as Bursar and whose firmness was of great value in settling various troublesome questions. Later, when the finances were put in charge of the Bursar of Trinity, this small committee was no longer needed. Mr. Sydney Jones, Bursar for many years, is warmly remembered, and when Louise Hill, '15, became his assistant, St. Hilda's was very happy in the association.

As numbers increased, some of the larger bedrooms in the new residence had to be shared by two students and the problem of extra accommodation was, at times, urgent. Various expedients were tried, but the most lasting was the occupation of the Provost's Lodge across the driveway. This house became vacant in 1908 and, to the great good fortune of all concerned, Miss Mary Elizabeth Strachan was persuaded to live there as its chatelaine. Undergraduates under her care felt themselves blest indeed. Miss Strachan was already one of the College institutions; she was the granddaughter of the great bishop and, with her mother and sister, had lived in Trinity College with her uncle, Dr. Jones, who was a fairy godfather to the new College. Miss Strachan's charm and kindly, somewhat ironic, wisdom and her unrivalled knowledge of College traditions and history, made her an invaluable member of the little staff. "Sympathetic but not sentimental, understanding but not officious, old world in her leisureliness and courtesy, new world in her approachableness and her appreciation of fun—the magic spirit of that magic room—she has helped in her quiet, delightful way, to make every one of us."¹ Students also lived with Professor and Mrs. Duckworth in their Crawford Street house, where they enjoyed much kindness and the stimulus of Professor Duckworth's wit and learning. Later this house

¹*St. Hilda's Chronicle*, Graduate Supplement, 1925.

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was managed very happily by Christine Kammerer, '08, who was very popular with her charges.

Financial problems were always present, and among devices for increasing funds was the establishment by Mrs. Body of the Lenten Lectures, given annually to supplement the College income. This undertaking was energetically supported by Miss C. L. Playter, always an enthusiastic friend of the College. Lectures of this type were then a new thing and the Saturday afternoons at Trinity, with the pleasant mingling of social intercourse and mental nourishment, drew many friends to Convocation Hall. They were both popular and profitable and the College and public were greatly indebted to those scholars who so generously brought ideas, old and new, from their storehouse of learning. Members of the Trinity staff took a great part of this work but visiting lecturers also shared in it. Among the names recorded are those of Professors William Clark and H. C. Simpson, and others of the Trinity staff, Professors Maurice Hutton and James Mavor, Professor John Watson of Queen's, Mr. J. F. Waters of Ottawa, Mr. Wyly Grier, Professor G. S. Brett, Mr. Gay Andras, and many others. Subjects were varied: books and authors, ideals in contemporary art, unrest in India, and Dr. Clark's famous interpretation of *The Water Babies* which had obtained the commendation of the author, Charles Kingsley.

The College had opened in 1888 with two students in residence, and in 1903 there were twenty in the three academic years of that period. Thanks to the enthusiasm and organization of the early undergraduates, it quickly became a well-knit little community, basing its customs and institutions on those of Trinity. Various organizations, such as the "Lit.," debating and sports clubs, grew naturally and quickly, the members later taking their share in University and intercollegiate activities.

At first the plan was to preserve a certain independence

on the academic side; honours lectures were taken at Trinity where groups were small, pass lectures at St. Hilda's, thus giving the little college from the first a collegiate character: it was a college, not merely a residence. Much gratitude is due to the members of the Trinity staff who for several years undertook to act as teachers: the Reverend J. S. Broughall, the Reverend E. C. Cayley, the Reverend H. H. Bedford-Jones, Professor E. W. Huntingford, Charles S. MacInnes, and others. But the additional work proved too onerous and in 1894 the Corporation of Trinity opened all lectures to women. A member of that day writes:

A radical change was made in the arrangement of lectures: Trinity professors had lectured at Trinity in the morning and repeated the lectures at St. Hilda's in the afternoon. Now a small room just inside the west door was set aside for the women students and their chaperons. Miss Patteson went over with the first ones in the morning and came back with the last at noon: all morning she sat writing letters and answering questions on various academic subjects. I think she must have been bored to tears.

During this time of separate pass lectures at St. Hilda's, Miss Patteson lectured in French and German, but after the opening of all lectures to the women, she lost this privilege and no teaching was hereafter done in St. Hilda's nor did any woman teach with the Trinity staff. However during the war of 1914-18, as the younger members of the staff volunteered for active service, it was found expedient to call upon women graduates to fill vacancies. The first to be given appointments were Christine Kammerer, '08, and M. M. Waddington, '11, both of whom lectured for several years. Later Gertrude Morley, '05, Laila Scott, '05, and the Principal of St. Hilda's became permanent members of the Trinity teaching staff. Having met with approval, this system soon was firmly established, to the benefit of the women undergraduates and the better balance of the life of the College.

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For the first fifteen years this record has been largely concerned with moves from one rented house to another. Then no sooner had the College taken possession of the excellent new building than Federation became an accomplished fact and the agitation for moving began again. Trinity was thought by many to be too far from the University centre; students would never be willing to go there for the required lectures and laboratory work, nor would University instructors be willing to go out to Trinity. The advantages of the slight degree of isolation were not realized until they had become departed blessings.

There were many critics of the new policy. Good friends of Trinity felt that more would be lost than gained by the move to Queen's Park. The Alumnae Association threw itself into the controversy and was very outspoken in its opposition. In 1903 the *Chronicle* had become reconciled to Federation and wisely admonished its readers to "be content to sigh once and then cheerfully seize all advantages offered." Two years later it was stated that "so far, our hopes rather than our fears have been realized . . . the social and intellectual contact with hundreds of other students has been stimulating."

Yet when the move took place in 1925 it was not the end of the moving period: 99 St. George Street, the late Sir Edmund Walker's house, became the temporary centre with the addition of first one, then two houses, and finally of the three immediately to the north. But St. Hilda's still looked forward to another move into a permanent building, so that until the jubilee in 1938 a spirit of unrest prevailed. The same careful economy was necessary, for the quarters were temporary and possible alterations or repairs had to be closely scrutinized, since no unnecessary expenditures could be undertaken. Great credit is due to the house superintendent and her assistants for the cheerful and skilful way in which they overcame the difficulties which arose. St. Hilda's has always been fortunate in her administrative staff. In the old

College Miss Cotterill was remarkable for her meticulous attention to every detail and her conscientious devotion to the interests of the students. In the St. George Street houses the new superintendent Miss Harraden carried through the adaptation to new conditions with the energy and ardour which characterized her capable work throughout the ten years she spent in the College.

The thirteen years from 1925 to 1938 were attended by many inconveniences for the students. They still had to share rooms and some of the extra large rooms in 99 St. George Street had at times to house three. It spoke well for the generally good spirit that these drawbacks were accepted cheerfully and partnerships were usually harmonious. The open spaces around the old College were exchanged for a front door on a busy city street. A little more formality became necessary; St. Hildians were now in the public eye. The old care-free attitude had to make way for more discipline than formerly. The College was surrounded by tea shops, movies, new attractions and distractions, new influences of many kinds; the old way of making one's own fun died out for there was so much else to do, and the *Chronicle* regretfully alluded to the "feeds that are no more," as one of the losses.

There were other losses. One of the charms of the old order had been the long summer term—cricket on the pitch at the west side of Trinity and tea on the terrace when cricket enthusiasts and social enthusiasts mingled in the enjoyment of that gracious sport and shared in the kindly welcome and hospitality always given by Mrs. John Strachan and her daughters. The *Chronicle* lamented:

We at last are federated,
And with Varsity united,
Their strange habits imitated
Make this summer term our last one.
Ne'er again through all the summers
Shall we sit upon the terrace,

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See the men defeat all comers,
Playing many games of cricket,
Cricket matches on the campus
Played in our lamented summer term.

The new home, most fittingly furnished by the Alumnae, was a fine house with large dining room and library, part of which became the common room, and a spacious entrance hall with a big open fire-place. Then there was the garden with its noble trees, said to be "the only college garden in Toronto." These things helped to ease the pangs of regret for the old building and the excitement of moving and the new life and environment proved very engrossing. The move swept the student body into the wider life of the University and the city, subjecting everyone to the distractions of a larger world and different customs and usages. The College ceased to be as purely residential as hitherto; the immediate increase in the number of non-residents necessitated various adjustments, but it brought to St. Hilda's many city girls who were a delightful and valuable addition and who identified themselves completely with the College. St. Hilda's had "acquired the enviable reputation of having no grievances and no friction over the non-resident question."

Flowers had never been carried by St. Hildians at Convocation, and this custom was jealously guarded. Members of the graduation class in procession with the women from other Colleges were noticeable and often received sympathetic glances from onlookers who did not realize that the absence of flowers was no sign of unpopularity or disregard; the "Saints" were secretly proud of their distinction in being strictly academic.

The new environment was exciting, even intoxicating. It was hard to remember that St. Hilda's had moved to "Main Street." The daily procession to the Chapel at 113 St. George Street gained for the students the nickname of "black angels," and though discretion and self-restraint were more

necessary than in the old quarters, it was somewhat difficult to exercise these virtues. One of the most helpful influences in this transitional period was the wise counsel of the graduates in residence with their knowledge of precedents and traditions. This change was one of the compensations for the move. The additional houses in St. George Street required supervision and there was an advantage in having a graduate in residence in each house, whose conscientious oversight was of great value. They were a welcome addition to the life of the College, near enough in age to the undergraduates, and yet with recollections of the unwritten events of past years which were a source of interest to new-comers and a help in solving new problems and meeting new situations.

The internal administration was based on the year system, each year forming a unit with its own place and duties and its own character, adventurous and tempestuous, placid and comfortably quiet, experimenting, enterprising, "growing in beauty side by side" as an observer remarked of one year. The *Chronicle* could boast:

The year system is our own and we are proud of it. One of the greatest of our traditions is the unity of each year. Tradition says no cliques, no divisions, let the year be one. If the year system causes unhappiness, this is due to lack of courtesy or consideration. It is an encouragement to do one's best in work or sport. Out of the diverse elements in a year is formed a more or less composite whole which develops its own family code. Our year has so far amalgamated that though we argue incessantly, and our year meetings invariably end in a riot, we can present a united front to the world, and so in removal you will, no doubt, in true British fashion effect a workable compromise.

Possible rigidity found a corrective in inter-year activities and friendly rivalries. The system ensured for each student a definite place in College and opportunities for her talents and interests. The Heads of the four years formed a sort of advisory council. In matters of procedure and in planning of events, discipline, and regulations the Head of College was always a very important person. Appointment as Head was

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originally based on academic standing, as of course was necessary; but it was found wise to consider other qualities: tact, straightforwardness, ability to work with others, indifference to popularity, and a willingness to sacrifice time to official duties, a necessity which sometimes interfered with academic work and the opportunity of distinction in it. The College Meeting was the general assembly of undergraduates for discussion of problems, redress of grievances, and other matters of general concern. The whole system was informal, nothing was laid down in writing; it evolved gradually to meet needs as they arose. It was a means by which disputes could be settled by consent and suggestions or desires placed before the right authority.

In the old College, prior to 1925, undergraduates had to supply much for themselves in the way of equipment as well as entertainment. The period of removals did not provide the amenities which later came to be taken for granted, and there was little money available for extras. The library was built up slowly from very small beginnings. The purchase of a piano by the undergraduates, of course with help from the generous Alumnae and Council, required careful planning. Apart from regularly organized social events, all entertainment was carried on within doors with plenty of ingenuity and fun, one year entertaining another, one floor acting as hostess to another. Life was simpler, but there were excellent opportunities for the exercise of mental and social talents in the societies and in the informal round of what were called in the vernacular "college feeds."

When the question of sororities was raised, as it was bound to be sooner or later, the formation of one was sanctioned, and Delta Sigma came into being in or about 1905. This was an inter-year group whose avowed purpose was to work for the College and also to supply special social opportunities for its members. It was strictly an internal society with no outside affiliations; for a time it worked happily and in-

conspicuously except when a strange costume would appear at dinner and was recognized as an initiation test. But those who were not within the charmed circle became conscious of a division, too marked in such a small community. It was gradually realized that everyone would have to be enrolled in some sorority or no one should be. Permission was naturally sought by a second group, for the petitioners felt themselves excluded from certain privileges, real to them if undefined. After careful deliberation it appeared that two such groups within so small a community would divide the College too seriously. The problem was squarely faced and the patriotic purpose of the original sorority was seen in its generous offer to suspend operations and cease to enrol new members, in fact to go into abeyance on the understanding that should the matter ever be reopened Delta Sigma would become active again. This generous decision involved real sacrifice on the part of the members of Delta Sigma, but it averted a serious danger and the College became once more united on the foundation of St. Hilda's.

Relations with the Trinity students were harmonious on the whole, with a proper sense of what was fitting, though from time to time there was some difference of opinion about the degree of responsibility attaching to men or women students in case of any irregularity. St. Hilda's provided the women with a sphere of their own in which they could be themselves, free from the disturbing influences of members of the opposite sex. Opportunities for students of Trinity and St. Hilda's to meet socially and to share work and games were frequent and the tendency was for men and women to work together increasingly, but neither College was to lose its identity.

Perhaps the most important institution in St. Hilda's for more than forty years was the *Chronicle*, which is the main source of the information contained in this record. Its accounts of activities, teas, dances, games, plays, and debates,

its articles on current topics which give glimpses into the thinking of the undergraduates, provide a vivid and realistic picture of life in St. Hilda's. Its policy was to take a cheerful view and put the best construction on events; little mishaps were recorded with a jest and some of the more serious ones passed over. Disciplinary difficulties were reflected in editorials on self-government and on college spirit, but for the most part the story moved along lightly, giving food for thought and entertainment.

In its faithful and lively picture of day to day in St. Hilda's the *Chronicle* looked backward and forward. "Cannot we hope for a covered tennis court and gym? Miss Strachan, our fairy godmother, has given us box seats and chairs for the verandah. The Dean has given pictures to relieve the desolate walls of the so-called Women's Common Room at Trinity." "How much we need a piano!" sighed '02. A glee club had been formed and there were several references to this and to the skill and kindness of Mrs. John Boyd in her training of the singers. Many serious articles contained advice on professions for women: medicine, journalism, social work, librarianship; student conferences at Elgin House and elsewhere were described and there were various communications from graduates, notably the charming letters from Mrs. L. S. Amery. The death of the Reverend Dr. Body in September 1912 drew a tribute to the devotion and effectiveness of his work; to the great development of Trinity under his guidance; to the inspiration of his teaching and of his ardent faith and wisdom; and his far-sighted and energetic action in the founding of St. Hilda's. In the following year the death of Mrs. Rigby occurred. "She had many of the characteristics of what we lovingly call the old school,—the energy of character, the upright carriage, the beautiful accurate handwriting, the invariable courtesy and cordiality,—yet she was thoroughly modern in her outlook and sympathies . . . she had an unfailing sympathy with every side of youthful life

... and was able to infuse institutional life with the indescribable yet unmistakeable home touch."

A literary society is an important element in college life. In 1895 at the suggestion of Miss Patteson the "Lit." had been established in order to bring all the students together, "to instruct and entertain." The earliest *Chronicle* in the archives reports a spirited debate on the short story as being injurious to the novel, and debates were continually carried on under the auspices of the "Lit." or at times by a separate group. Inter-year debates were vigorously contested and dealt with a varied list of subjects. Informal discussions too were helpful in impromptu speaking and were often very lively; when inter-college debates were instituted, St. Hilda's played her part valiantly.

Plays were very popular and inter-year plays were done every season. These took place in the Common Room of the old St. Hilda's and later in the dining room of 99 St. George Street. They were done with zest and often with a good deal of finish, considering that the only equipment was such costumes as were to be found in the property box. There was no stage except for a brief period when a moveable one was set up in the south end of the old Common Room. There was really nothing to work with, but the young players by their ingenuity and imagination overcame the disadvantages, turning their necessities to glorious gain by the way in which they managed to suggest atmosphere, even when their feet were almost touching those of their fellow students in the front row. The conquest of these difficulties was a real test and the dramatic ability so often shown was a foreshadowing of the developments in dramatic art which have come to such a flowering in the various drama festivals with their fine and varied work.

Apart from plays and debates, there was a good deal of variety in the "Lit." It was not allowed to become purely a debating society. There were mixed programmes with music,

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charades, and readings; the novel club was an offshoot and papers were given on special books and authors with discussion following. At times members were reproved for non-attendance and one year the Freshies were disciplined for their slackness and sentenced to provide the next programme, which their generous judges pronounced the best of the season. A notable occasion was that on which Professor H. C. Simpson read aloud H. G. Wells' story, "The Star," to an audience stricken into silence by the beauty and terror of the narrative, and by the intensity of the reader's dramatic power.

In the early days the College lacked a library, but from time to time donations of books were received and after 1903 a room was equipped with shelves and set apart to serve as a reading room. It was, however, the energy of Winifred Harvey, '11, which really led to the establishment of a library. After a vigorous campaign in 1910 which was supported by the graduates and the Finance Committee of Trinity, St. Hilda's soon possessed a goodly number of works of reference and other useful and interesting books. After the move to St. George Street the collection bequeathed by Mildred Walker, '25, was added, and the care of the library was vested in a committee. Help in cataloguing was generously given by graduates who were trained librarians and who thus established a firm foundation for further growth.

Social life was always an important element in St. Hilda's. There were many small informal events in rooms, tea and talk, one year or one floor entertaining another. One member recalls the sewing teas that Mrs. Welch gave at the Provost's Lodge, "when we sat around the fire in chairs or on the floor sewing for, I think, the Infants Home, and being read to." Hallowe'en parties were always much enjoyed and by none more than the onlookers who watched the procession of gay and ingenious costumes. Dances were always popular: the old Bread and Butter dance, probably

the fore-runner of the later year dances, when numbers had increased and the big dances had to be supplemented by smaller affairs; the formal dances held during the year except in Lent, a season which in those days was treated with respect. Informal evening receptions were also instituted. The reception held at St. Hilda's in Convocation week was later replaced by the Provost's At Home on Saturday evening after the series of graduation functions.

Then there were festivities at Trinity, dances in Convocation Hall with strolls through the corridors and visits to the students' rooms. Surely there was no place in Toronto which afforded greater possibilities for enjoying a dance than Trinity. Old St. Hilda's too might have been specially designed with a view to dancing, for the dancers could circle round the whole ground floor. There was an ease and happiness about these dances because all had common interests and felt at home. In these early days a young bride at her first dance at Trinity had such a happy evening that she always wished to make a gift to St. Hilda's. This wish she, Mrs. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, fulfilled years afterwards when, as a member of the Council, she supplied the furnishings for the Women's Common Room at Trinity when the present building was opened.

Serenades from time to time were anticipated with pleasure and enjoyed from darkened windows. They were marked by piercing sounds, the tramp of many feet, human forms clad in dark, flopping robes walking over the summer flower beds, the sound of nameless, tuneless instruments, and, finally, outbursts of song. One humourist describes the varying emotions of thrilled tremblings and trembled thrillings with which the first serenade was heard and the fun of listening from behind the curtain; but then, after several experiences, a day came when she was disturbed—actually—by masculine voices again. Would they never stop? How could one "smile the while we bid you fond adieu," when

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they took such a long time about it? This time the Saint groaned and covered her head with her pillow.

Games always played an important part in the life of St. Hilda's. It was realized that University students should be the guardians of true sport in which the game is more than the player and the ship is more than the crew. Tennis was the first sport to be cultivated but there was a hockey team as early as 1901. Because of limited numbers it was sometimes difficult to get enough players to form two teams for practices, and in the case of basketball there was the additional problem of finding a suitable court. After the move to St. George Street the situation improved, partly owing to the increase in the number of students.

One of the outstanding athletes was Frances Endacott, '08, who "played the game" in every sense. When she died in May 1907 she left behind her an indelible impression because of her joyful energy, uprightness, sense of responsibility, and love of justice. In her memory the Frances Endacott trophy was established, originally for tennis, but at present awarded for all-round athletic accomplishment.

In the twenties baseball was promoted to the rank of college sport, swimming took a more prominent place, and badminton was introduced. A former athlete writes:

Sports were important in our days yet it was not necessary to forego too many other interests in order to take part in them. They fitted naturally into a very full existence.

Apart from the details of particular competitions and tournaments, several rather important points emerge. One is the relationship of the three levels of competition, inter-year, inter-faculty and inter-collegiate. Each had its place and from the fun and good feeling of the many taking part in inter-year games came the interest and support which often carried St. Hilda's to victory in inter-faculty matches. This led naturally to the participation of the more outstanding players and managers in inter-collegiate sports and they seemed to take their places as St. Hilda's representatives rather than as individuals in a wider field.

The other valuable element was the administrative side which also

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functioned on these three levels, closely related and interdependent to some extent. Each year had one or more representatives on the executive of the College athletic society and it in turn was represented by one or more on the University athletic directorate.

Much was gained by participation in this side of college athletics; valuable contacts and new friends were made, methods of procedure learned and a picture of the whole field obtained. Here perhaps was found the more lasting value of college athletics.

When the first building was planned the need for a chapel was not realized, and the only possible way to repair this oversight was to use for this purpose the space over the porch. This little chapel was beautifully fitted up by Mrs. Welch and her committee; there seemed to be no room for the altar, so a super-altar with the cross upon it was set in its place. This was carved with little cherub heads modelled after Katchinka, the small daughter of Professor Michael Mackenzie. Morning and Evening Prayer in shortened form were said daily and sometimes special services were held. When the move to St. George Street took place a room in the north house, No. 113, was set apart as a chapel but it was not until the acquisition of the three houses immediately north of No. 99 that there was a properly equipped and secluded chapel. An altar was then built beneath the old super-altar which retained the cherub heads, and the whole was furnished as an English altar with riddel posts and curtains of deep blue. Brass candlesticks with the vine and grapes were placed on either side of the cross and special hanging lamps were installed. Undergraduates took turns in playing the hymn and reading the daily lesson. Attendance at chapel had now ceased to be compulsory and voluntary attendance was perhaps more significant. On Sundays St. Hildians had the privilege of sharing in the services at Trinity and, since 1906, have formed an important part of the choir.

On the active side the missionary or altruistic impulse varied to some extent with particular groups or individuals. The College alternated between the Woman's Auxiliary of

the Church of England in Canada, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Student Christian Movement. In its early days the Student Christian Movement seemed to aim too much at standardized effort without enough room for the special emphasis needed by different groups, in our case the Church emphasis. But the social intercourse and the friendships formed were valuable. There were many S.C.M. conferences at Elgin House, Lake Couchiching, and elsewhere, one great international conference at Des Moines, Iowa, and one at Butterley, England, in 1912. "This combined with its open air charm and fellowship, a sense of the vitality and power of Christianity and of the evil which is its perpetual challenge, especially to the universities which must provide Christian leaders for the world conflict. The conference gives one the sense of being baptised into all conditions."

Work was carried on by the W. A. Dorcas committee: in one year the treasurer reported donations to the W. A. pledge; to Russian relief; to missions; to a worker in Japan, and to the S.C.M. national movement. Ichimura San, a charming young Japanese woman who had been brought to Canada by one of our missionaries and lived in College while taking special studies, did much to stimulate interest in her country and in St. Mary's Home, Matsumoto, where she had worked and to which she was returning. Her charm and responsiveness captivated everyone and in order to help her work financially a sale of needlework was initiated. This sale became an annual event for a number of years and was the occasion of a pleasant reunion of old students and friends who not only supplied articles for "The Sale" but also came to purchase. The tea room always did a thriving business and the auction of unsold articles at the end of the evening was a hilarious finish.

The increasing awareness of social problems which characterized the first half of the twentieth century manifested itself early at St. Hilda's. As a result of social service work

at Evangelia House of which St. Hilda's formed the Alpha Chapter, at St. Faith's Lodge for girls, at Nathanael Institute and later at the University Settlement, students learned how they could be of value to their community. St. Hildians liked especially to work at Evangelia House because of their admiration for the enthusiastic devotion of Edith Constance Elwood, B.A., a graduate of 1896 who had been head worker for many years.

The war years affected St. Hilda's as they did every other educational institution. There was the disturbing presence of soldiers everywhere, even drilling in the grounds and close to the building, groups of wig-waggers flashing mysterious messages about in the ravine, practice in tactics with the ravine for British lines, the Crawford Street yards for the Germans, and the tennis court for a salient. Study certainly lagged with these distractions. The fifty-six men of Trinity, commemorated in one of the bells of Hart House Carillon, were remembered with pride and sorrow by all fellow-students and staff. Real fortitude was manifested when casualty lists bore familiar names. The work and activities of Trinity had to be carried on as far as possible by the women, for the home fires had to be kept burning for future days. Many rendered valuable service in war work, in the chemical laboratory at Trenton where six of the twelve women chemists were St. Hildians, in munitions, in farming, in mending at one of the woollen mills where holes caused by flaws in the yarn had to be darned.

When the long-awaited signal of the Armistice was heard the whole College sprang into activity. Everyone leapt from bed and gathered in the large west-end bedroom; lightly clad, all trooped down to chapel to offer a very informal but very fervent thanksgiving; later with the Provost's permission all attended the morning service at Trinity. After breakfast everyone rushed out to take a share in the general rejoicing and to see what was going on, and Charles Gossage

brought a truck in which a fortunate group drove round the city much entertained by the quips of the chauffeur. The truck, lined on either side by handsome guardsmen clad in jackets of vivid red, was the centre of attraction and carried the flags of the Empire and the distinguishing colours of Trinity and St. Hilda's.

As the time approached for the move of the College to Queen's Park, many anxious thoughts were given to the future of the excellent buildings so soon to be abandoned. It was finally decided by an interested group that, with Trinity gone from the park, the best use that could be made of the houses would be to establish in them an old people's home for married couples as well as for single men and women, through which the Church would make a contribution to the welfare work of the city. The Woman's Auxiliary of the Church of England accepted the responsibility for this undertaking and soon a vigorous committee took charge and prepared the buildings for occupation by their new residents in October 1925. This committee with some change of members from time to time has acted as the Board of Management ever since, and under its care and that of the matron and house staff, Strachan Houses has been for twenty-six years a friendly, happy home for those privileged to dwell there.

The Alumnae Association, formed in 1897, was from the first a most valuable auxiliary, linking the happy intercourse of old friends with a broad outlook on larger activities. One cannot study the minutes of the Alumnae meetings without being impressed by the alertness to important questions and the keen attention and watchfulness over the policy of the College and all matters affecting its welfare. As the time of removal drew near, the Alumnae prepared for it by efforts to increase membership and by gathering funds to be available when it took place.

The Alumnae Association was concerned with the need of representation on the Corporation of Trinity College by one

of themselves; for many years Mr. Michael McLaughlin and Mr. Gerard Strathy had acted as their representatives. Their concern seemed all the more reasonable because women had been elected to the Senate of the University since 1910. Eventually Provost Macklem proposed that, in view of the approaching removal to Queen's Park, the Corporation should appoint a council to care for the special interests of St. Hilda's and that the said council should consist of twenty-five women, fifteen of them to be nominated by the Alumnae Association and ten by the Corporation. After this proposal had been duly approved by the Association, the St. Hilda's College Council was established in 1921 with Miss Margery Curlette, '00, as its first president. Its duties were: to consider the general policy of the College, to promote its interests and deal with any special needs, to act as an advisory committee on plans for the proposed new building and its furnishings, to advise on any expenditure apart from routine; it also had authority to raise money for any specific purpose and enjoyed a free hand in the disbursement of the funds so obtained. One picturesque and profitable plan adopted was that of tours to some of the beautiful private gardens in the city and its outskirts, a project which gave opportunity for some delightful excursions. As 1925 drew near, meetings were arranged for Churchwomen to consult with them as to steps for giving information about and increasing interest in St. Hilda's as the Anglican College for women within the University.

The widening interests of the Alumnae are seen in the President's address on one occasion when she defined one of its functions as being the formation of a nucleus of educated opinion on questions of public interest, such as the Victory Loan, the re-education of returned soldiers, the need for women workers in organized recreation and social welfare, Juvenile Court work, and kindred matters. Congratulations on their work in connection with the war were sent to three

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alumnae, Ianthe Constantinides, '98, Christobel Robinson, '01-'04, and Ethel B. Ridley, '95, all of whom had been "mentioned in despatches" and awarded the Royal Red Cross in recognition of their services during the war. In 1921 and 1922 St. Hilda's had four medical students in residence. The presence of the latter, a new element, was an advantage to the Arts students; the keenness of the "Meds" in work and play was stimulating and the exchange of interests profitable on both sides. Later the four young graduates in Medicine were enrolled as members of the Alumnae Association, "inasmuch as they have fulfilled the spirit of the constitution."

The minutes of the Association contain a full account of the manner in which the Principal of St. Hilda's received the additional title of Dean of Women in November 1915. This was brought about through the good offices of Gertrude Morley, then President, who learned that graduates of the College could not become members of the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae because the Principal had no vote on the Trinity staff. At the same time it was learned that the title of "Dean" was very widely given to women in such positions, and for this reason the title was added to that of Principal by the Corporation. The title "Dean" implied a definite jurisdiction not only over the resident, but also over the non-resident students who, after the move to St. George Street, came in increasing numbers to register at Trinity.

St. Hilda's twenty-first birthday was celebrated by a graduate reunion in 1909. There was keen interest in preparation for this event and the reunion later became an annual feature of the June Convocation. This, with the Alumnae meeting followed by Convocation Tea in November of each year, brings graduates together in a happy mingling of business and pleasure. In June, graduates return to live in residence and share with the graduating class the life of the

College for several days. Professor A. H. Young had suggested a dinner for St. Hilda's similar to the one held at Trinity for the men, but at that time it was felt that a reunion in College would be more acceptable. Although the programme later came to include a dinner, the essential part of it was the life in College when old friendships were renewed, new ones formed and old times recalled with "Do you remember?" These meetings were always opened with prayer in the Chapel and in 1921 special services were begun, a celebration of Holy Communion at 8 a.m. and Morning Prayer with address at a later hour. June of 1925 saw the largest reunion up to that time: members of twenty-five years were present, among them Miss Middleton, '90, Miss Curlette, '00, and Mrs. J. P. MacLaren (E. C. Elwood, '96), while Miss Strachan spent this last gathering in the old buildings as hostess in the Lodge. Intense heat did not interfere with enjoyment and everything was at its loveliest. The Reverend H. T. F. Duckworth took the choral Communion and the Reverend F. H. Cosgrave preached on Abraham going forth in faith, and on our going forth, too, in faith and in knowledge of our ideals and the purpose of our foundation. He spoke of Bishop Strachan's venture of faith in the founding of Trinity and of Dr. Body's faith in the founding of St. Hilda's.

Golden sunshine, drifting clouds, the vivid green of early summer, and fresh breezes made a perfect four days in June 1936. Tulips were still in bud but iris, purple, yellow, white, and golden brown, were blooming in abundance. One hundred and seventy alumnae attended the dinner presided over by Mary Winspear, at which Miss Cartwright, whose retirement as Principal and Dean had recently been announced, was the special guest of honour and chief speaker. Miss Waugh's delightful speech to '36 was beautifully answered by Edith Ardagh and Catherine Grubbe; the toast

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to St. Hilda's past was responded to by Elizabeth Newton in a whimsically reminiscent vein with an impressionist review of twenty-five years, to St. Hilda's present by Ruth Rous with mingled humour and seriousness, to St. Hilda's future by Marion Moore who touched a deep note in speaking of the need for direction in life which it should be a gift of one's college to impart. Every speech, although marked by gaiety and fun, gave evidence of a realization of the essential things for which St. Hilda's has tried to stand and of the ideals that have survived all failures in fulfilment. The year '11 was keeping its own twenty-fifth anniversary, which was of particular interest as one of its distinguished members, Mrs. M. M. Kirkwood, had been appointed to succeed Miss Cartwright.

The high esteem in which the retiring Principal was held is illustrated by the following quotation from a resolution adopted by the Corporation of Trinity College at a meeting held on the twenty-fifth of April 1936:

The Corporation of Trinity College desires to place on record its deep appreciation of the services of Miss Mabel Cartwright, B.A., LL.D., Principal of St. Hilda's College from 1903 to 1936.

The success of St. Hilda's as a College is due almost entirely to the devotion and skill with which Miss Cartwright has worked during this long period of thirty-three years. She brought to her task a fine equipment in personal character and strong religious convictions. Her notable services in connection with the missionary work of the Church are well known to all. At St. Hilda's she was able to maintain a simple but sincere religious life which was of incalculable value to the institution. Her insistence upon the highest standards of conduct and her sense of the importance of dignity and due restraint in all the activities of college life have made the influence of our women undergraduates a very wholesome element in the University.

To Miss Cartwright as a teacher, an administrator and a friend of undergraduates, Trinity College desires to express its warm thanks and, as a mark of its appreciation of her outstanding services, requests her to allow it to confer upon her the title of *Principal Emeritus of St. Hilda's*.

1936-1952

After an administration of thirty-three years by Miss Mabel Cartwright, notable both for the character of the remarkable woman who conducted it and for the sound development of the institution which her efforts promoted, the third Principal, Mrs. W. A. Kirkwood (M. M. Waddington, '11) assumed the position on the first day of July 1936. She had served on the Trinity teaching staff for four years and then, after obtaining postgraduate degrees, had been a member of the staff in English of University College in Toronto for seventeen. Her experience included some years as Dean of Women in the latter institution. She was the author of *The Development of British Thought from 1820 to 1890* and of *Duty and Happiness in a Changed World* as well as of papers on literary and social subjects. Not long after her appointment as Principal, she was asked to speak on behalf of the women graduates of the University of Toronto at a dinner given in honour of Sir William Mulock, then and for many years Chancellor. There she was able to quote from an early utterance of Sir William with regard to the rights of women to a university education, a right "as strong as that of their brothers. The refining and elevating influence of such an education must, I think, better qualify a woman to play her part in life as a breadwinner, wife or mother." It was a similar but more effectual conviction on the part of Provost Body which brought about the founding of St. Hilda's, the first residential college for women in Canada.

The graduates who knew the temporary residences on St. George Street look back to them with pleasure and affection. Those houses had their own character. Traditions were unbroken. The characteristic associations and activities of St. Hilda's were enjoyed much as they had been since the beginnings. The emphasis upon the individual's duty to the community was maintained. Pride in the sense of a college playing its part was a strong element in the undergraduate's consciousness. Friendship and humour flourished.

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In addition to the maintenance of the regular chapel services, Literary Society and College meetings, and athletic activities, there were certain aspects of life cultivated in St. Hilda's which served to stimulate and interest the students. Civilization is an impalpable flower, but its roots are tangible enough and may be nourished. In the Spring 1938 number of the *St. Hilda's Chronicle* there are references to "Music on Sunday Evenings," "After-Dinner Speeches," and "Picture Loans," with lists of distinguished visitors to the College. Under the first heading we find the following:

The Oxford Dictionary knows no such thing as "a songster," but Canadians and St. Hildians have experienced it as an informal programme of music varying from Bach Chorales to Welsh sea-chanties. Once a month, after supper on Sunday evenings, those who were in have sung together in the Common Room, and Mrs. Richard Tattersall's delightful accompaniments and leadership have made this an experience that we shall not forget. In the Christmas programme under Mrs. Tattersall's direction, "The Twelve Days of Christmas" and "Mater, Ora Filium" stand out as special memories.

Among after-dinner speakers, Dr. A. P. Coleman is mentioned. "Dr. Coleman told us, in the quiet, unimpassioned voice that is characteristic of him, of one of his recent ascents in the Andes. This is only one of several undertakings carried out alone by him in the eighties of a richly full life." Other speakers that winter included Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Sister Ruth, Miss Charlotte Emery, Miss Anne Davison, and Miss Edith Ardagh. Miss Blanche Pittman spoke about a headmistress's experiences and Miss Beatrice Gage about the uses of nursery schools. Mrs. T. J. Stewart of Perth explained how a woman may make her life great by attaching herself to, and working for, a great cause, expressing her belief that the standards of political life and of society in general depend on the integrity and fineness of individual men and women. Dr. Norma Ford spoke in an informal way about recent researches in heredity.

"Picture Loans" over the years have provided a live in-

terest. Beginning with a show by Manly Macdonald, which was followed by a group of reproductions from the Art Gallery, there have been many exhibitions, none of them large, but every one stimulating. The chronicler of 1938 writes: "Much discussion was roused by these pictures. Since our number now includes more than a few students taking the new course in Fine Art, the group lunching or dining together is sure to include the individual whose knowledge of art matches her ardour for the subject of her admiration, as well as conservatives who are repelled by the unexpected." Canvases by Arthur Lismer are described, and a speech delivered by him in the Dining Hall is commented on as follows:

Mr. and Mrs. Lismer were popular guests. Mr. Lismer pulled a face of contrition when his watch told him he had talked more than ten minutes, but the listeners in the dining room pulled faces of dismay when he stopped. Chiefly he said that sincere art reflects the artist's way of looking at things, and will enrich our lives only if we bring to it the open mind and heart. It may be a far-fetched connection, but his words carried perhaps the same message as the Archbishop's a year ago, when he spoke of religion as a means of quieting the soul and bringing it to face reality.

On Saturday, the thirtieth of January 1937 there was a memorable gathering in the College when Marion Long's portrait of Miss Cartwright, commissioned by the graduates, was presented to her and by her to St. Hilda's. Brief speeches were made by Miss Evelyn Gregory, President of the Alumnae Association, by Mrs. Kirkwood, and by Miss Cartwright herself. Provost Cosgrave paid tribute to Miss Cartwright for her successful management over so many years, when she had often to cope with problems unknown to outsiders. He reviewed briefly St. Hilda's history and announced the hope of a new building in the near future.

On the fifteenth of April 1937 the following were appointed to deal with matters arising out of the project to erect a new

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building for St. Hilda's and to report from time to time to the Executive Committee of Trinity College as to the steps to be taken in this regard: Mr. Campbell Reaves (Chairman), Mr. G. R. Larkin, Mr. G. M. Kelley, Mr. T. Oakley, Mr. F. W. Cowan, the Provost, Mrs. W. A. Kirkwood, and Mrs. Britton Osler with the President of the Alumnae and Mrs. Molyneux Gordon and Mrs. F. C. Clarkson from the St. Hilda's College Council. Soon afterwards Mr. Allan George and Mr. Walter Moorhouse were appointed architects for the building. The appeal for the necessary funds amounting to about \$270,000 met with a most generous response. On the twenty-seventh of November 1937 the corner-stone was laid by Miss Cartwright. Mention should be made of a humorous preliminary the night before, when a surplice-clad procession of Trinity men wound its way up to the site on Devonshire Place, singing and bearing lighted candles, and then conducting their own ceremonial.

A generous gift from a graduate and her husband made possible the inclusion of Cartwright Hall, a most valuable centre for activities of both men and women students. Committees of the Council and the Alumnae Association collected special gifts for the furnishings. At last on the seventeenth day of September 1938 the blue and silver ribbons barring the door of the new St. Hilda's were cut by Mrs. Albert Matthews, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. In the absence of Archbishop Owen the prayers were said by Bishop Renison and addresses were delivered by Mrs. Matthews, the Principal, and the Provost. After the ceremony many visitors were conducted through the building.

The opening of the new building in the autumn of 1938 was the first great event of the Jubilee year of St. Hilda's College, founded in 1888. On the return of the students on Monday, the twenty-sixth of September, a banquet was held in the new Dining Hall for both resident and non-resident women students. After the building had been explored, all

assembled in the Large Common Room to hear an address by the Principal on the value of tradition and law and how these elements work out in College life. Another notable event was the visit of Lady Tweedsmuir, the wife of the Governor-General, on the twenty-second of November. Members of the executive of the Alumnae and of the Council and the Head of College were presented to her, and she delivered a charming address to the assembled company of students and friends of the College. The Jubilee Ball was held on the first of December. Among the guests were Archbishop and Mrs. Owen, the former wearing the buckles at knees and instep left by Bishop Strachan and held in trust by each Bishop of Toronto. On another occasion in the same year a formal dinner party was given in honour of the exhibiting artists including Mr. and Mrs. George Pepper (Kathleen Daly), Mr. and Mrs. Philip Clark (Paraskeva Clark), Mr. and Mrs. Charles Comfort, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Carmichael, Mrs. Rody Kenny Courtice, and Mr. A. Y. Jackson. At coffee afterwards in the Common Room, the undergraduates met in informal talk with the artists.

A congeries of lectures, books, "labs." and talk, with varying elements of acting, music, debating, and athletics added, make up the pattern of modern college life. This pattern was developed somewhat in St. Hilda's by the move to the new building, and then gradually modified as the impact of war was felt. Such a demand for the admission of women occurred in 1939, with a corresponding diminution of men, that the Provost recommended adding to the seventy-five provided for in the new building. So some extra St. Hildians were accommodated, first in the top floor of Trinity College with Miss Isabel Hunter as a kindly don, and later at 113 St. George Street. From 1945 on, the extra twenty residents have lived at 101 St. George Street, now called St. Hilda's House.

In July 1940, 160 pupils and fifteen teachers from St.

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Hilda's School for girls at Whitby in Yorkshire were sent to Canada to escape the anticipated bombing. Many of them were housed in the College building until financial sponsors and winter accommodation were arranged, the latter problem being solved by the generous loan of her lovely house at Erindale by Mrs. Watson Evans to serve as a main school, and the absorption of the overflow by various boarding schools. Later on Mr. Clifford Sifton provided accommodation for the younger pupils in a large residence on Lawrence Avenue. The St. Hilda's College Alumnae Association, under the courageous leadership of Mrs. C. S. Leckie, provided the pupils and teachers with all that they needed for their personal comfort. This was necessary because at that time no money could be transferred from England to Canada. Mrs. Leckie's committee also secured hostesses among members of the Alumnae Association and their friends to provide holidays for the children and teachers at Christmas, Easter, and midsummer. In the meantime the undergraduate body reduced and simplified their entertaining in order to make generous contributions to this new cause, without falling behind in their missionary and other obligations. Through Miss Isobel Pepall, Ontario Commandant, the assistance of the Canadian Red Cross was secured to provide drivers and cars for conveying the children from place to place. For four years St. Hilda's was a centre for the collection of gifts and a rendezvous for children, hostesses, and drivers.

Perhaps the incident best remembered in connection with St. Hilda's School is the arrival at St. Hilda's College one day in early June 1941, of eighty pupils and teachers from Erindale. The plumbing there had broken down, and an immediate evacuation was necessary. The double-decker beds came first and were set up in rows in Cartwright Hall for the younger children, while behind the stage curtains were beds for some of the staff. Provost and Principal joined with other workers in order that there might be places for all

the children on their arrival. It happened that at that time a Y.W.C.A. conference was occupying one floor of the building! The school's summer term was, however, completed at St. Hilda's College and the closing was held in the garden. Many will recall how at Convocation time Miss Rusted managed meals for the children in one relay and for returning graduates at a second.

To correspond with the military training exacted from undergraduate men in the war period, certain services were required of the women students. The choices included lecture courses on domestic conservation, St. John Ambulance courses, instruction in air raid protection, V.A.D. courses, and service in the city hospitals. Both graduate and undergraduate members of the College served as drivers in the Transport Section of the Red Cross Corps. Of course many St. Hildians were on active service in the Navy, Army, Air Force, Army Medical Corps, and Red Cross Corps. Among the honours won may be mentioned the award of M.R.R.C. (Member of the Royal Red Cross) to Major Edith Dick, of Associate Membership in the Red Cross to Lieutenant Neville Hamilton Compston and to Nursing Sister R. M. Lister Hunter, and of membership in the Order of the British Empire to Miss Isobel Pepall. After the war the last-named was matron of St. Dunstan's until her marriage in 1947.

Games were still played, lectures were attended, and the institutions of the College were maintained throughout the years of the war. The opening of Strachan Hall in September 1941 led to a closer association of men and women students. From 1942 the June dinner in honour of the graduating class became a joint event attended by both men and women. In the same year *The St. Hilda's Chronicle* was merged with *The Trinity University Review*. The early years of the joint magazine were marked by great activity on the part of the St. Hildians, for Sonya Morawetz, Lynn Howard, and Jane

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Coyne acted in turn as editor-in-chief, and much excellent writing was contributed by the women.

Among institutions at St. Hilda's the Chapel is the oldest. It has been the scene of morning and evening prayer with occasional celebrations of the Holy Communion through all the years. While much of the old furniture remains, a lovely altar-painting has been added, with the Mother and Child for subject, flanked by St. Hilda and St. Augustine. There is also a new lectern of natural oak. These are gifts from a friend of the College who secured the services of Mr. William Rae as architect and of Miss Yvonne Williams to fashion a medallion of stained glass for the centre window. Two medallions were added later, by the same artist, in memory of Valerie Dell Adams of the year '14. The three pieces depict scenes from the life of St. Hilda.

Historically the Lit. stands next to the Chapel and in a manner its activities may be said to serve spiritual interests also. For some years the programme has been divided between debating and acting. Debates have been conducted on subjects connected with politics, education, and social life. Humour is one offshoot of this aspect of College life and humour has often been the direct aim, especially in the joint debates with the Trinity College Literary Institute. As for the plays, the range of subject and of merit in presentation has been wide. Chosen almost at random, there may be mentioned as distinguished performances by undergraduate players *The Merchant of Venice* by the year '45, *The Alchemist* by the year '49, and *1066 and All That* by the year '51. St. Hildians here prepared the costumes, made effective sets, and acted the parts of men as well as women with success. Thus effort and skill were exercised that are not always drawn upon when St. Hildians join in the work of the Trinity Dramatic Society. The latter society has, however, afforded a second and very popular field for the acting abilities of members of St. Hilda's.

Success in games has varied, with recent glories won oftener in swimming, tennis, and badminton than in other sports. The hockey victories of 1941 and 1942 have almost come our way again on one or two occasions, but whether champions or not, we recall with pride such stalwarts as Elaine Knight, Gladys ("Tarzan") Carvolth, "Joey" Wells, the Fletcher twins, Donna Haley, and Margaret Martin. Pat Cockburn, Mary Matthews, and "Curly" Matthews match Joan Griffith and "Tibs" Annesley of an earlier day, while in swimming there have been such brilliant performers as Joyce Cobban, Phyllis Manning, Diana Jacob, and Louise Willard. Large numbers have participated in these sports, and the fun and good fellowship are immense. Hilarity reaches its peak perhaps when each autumn the St. Hilda's College Athletic Association sees its first baseball team play the staff, and spectators throng the Trinity field.

The co-operation of men and women has been gradually extended in many fields. In the autumn of 1946 a new joint club was formed, the Arts and Letters, arising out of lectures on Shaw to the first year. At the "Conversat." in 1948, an operetta called "What, No Crumpets?" was produced by Keith MacMillan and Ronald Bryden. The animation of singing and acting by Trinity men and St. Hildians matched the originality of score and dialogue. The following year a musical comedy by the same authors, entitled "Saints Alive," was produced in Hart House. Voices, acting, and scene painting of men and women together served to bring out delightfully the musical gift and vivacious poetic humour of Trinity's young Gilbert and Sullivan.

Contemporary joint interests of men and women show how far the College has moved from the temper of the infant institution. If it were not that academic honours are sustained, St. Hildians winning from time to time the medal for the best degree and in the graduating year 1951 thirteen out of the fifteen Trinity rankings in first class, adminis-

trators might be seriously troubled. The *Hamilton Spectator* republished in April 1951 a notice that appeared first in April 1891. It runs as follows: "St. Hilda's College is an institution which, in affiliation with Trinity University in Toronto, offers to ladies a University course leading up to the B.A. degree. St. Hilda's has now been established for three years. The students reside in the college building where lectures are delivered by members of the professorial staff of Trinity, the disadvantages of co-education being thus avoided."

There have been many other interesting developments in student life at St. Hilda's. The Christmas Party has come to include the presentation of a Nativity play in Middle English (from the Coventry cycle). The House Party in Muskoka should not be omitted. At the end of the May examinations, groups of third- and fourth-year St. Hildians have travelled northward to holiday together, cooking their own meals, reading, canoeing, playing games, and swimming. Perhaps an incident on Lake Rousseau in 1951 will prove a model for the St. Hildian's life in the world. As Elizabeth Southgate of the year '52 paddled back to the cottage one day, to bring the last members of the house party to a picnicking point, she heard cries for help coming from a lonely part of the lake. She was able to reach and rescue a lad from drowning just as his boat was sinking beneath him some distance from the shore. It may be considered old-fashioned to quote from George Eliot, but the college girl in the canoe may belong as surely to the choir invisible as the devotee in a religious order.

Graduates of St. Hilda's now number more than one thousand, and include teachers, lawyers, physicians, nurses, business workers, and, more than all, wives and mothers. The St. Hilda's College Alumnae Association numbers among its members some of the leading women of Canada. Sixty-four years is a short time in the life of an institution of this kind, but in that period St. Hilda's has become firmly

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established among the colleges which seek to promote the higher education of women in this country. The vision of its founders has been realized, although perhaps not quite in the way that they anticipated. Through its closer association with Trinity College and the University of Toronto, St. Hilda's has entered a larger academic life and gained for its students many new privileges and opportunities. The record of students and graduates shows that so far they have not been unmindful of the warning in the Gospel, "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required; and to whom they commit much, of him will they ask the more."

CHAPTER TEN

STUDENT LIFE THROUGH THE YEARS

RINITY COLLEGE was at the outset essentially English in tone, an exotic so to speak, transplanted from the Old Land to the New. Its first professors were graduates from English universities, and the members of the staff, with few exceptions, were men of English birth and training. It was logical, therefore, that the customs of the College should follow the English pattern. The terms "dons," "gyps," "gates," and "impots," meaning the professors, servants, fines, and impositions sounded strange to Canadian ears. Such Americanisms as "profs," "hazing," "sophomore," "campus," and "commencement exercises" (instead of Convocation) and the like would sound equally strange to old graduates brought up in the traditions of Trinity, traditions adapted from English university life.

From the first it was emphasized that Trinity should be a residential college. On that memorable day, the fifteenth of January 1852, when the College was inaugurated, the Honourable and Right Reverend John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, in his address to the assembled students, praised the advantages of collegiate life.¹ "It would seem," he said, "that nothing is more likely to benefit Students than to afford them an opportunity of living together in society—of which the regular attendance upon religious ordinances, the observance of correct and gentlemanly habits, and obedience to a wholesome restraint, would form prominent features. Thence we infer that without residence

¹Henry Melville: *The Rise and Progress of Trinity College, Toronto* (Toronto, 1852).

within the College, the full benefit of collegiate life and education cannot be obtained."

The College building was erected at a time when little thought was given to things now regarded as indispensable to comfort and convenience. This was true of the students' quarters, where a fire-place in each room was the chief, and, indeed, the only source of heat, and the soft coal used was, in 1862 and later, charged to the students' account. The "upper western," as the Divinity corridor was called, was heated by one huge wood stove which burned great chunks of hardwood. This fuel served a double purpose: it gave warmth, and, when needed, it served as a weapon of defence against raiders. "Curses, not loud, but deep" there were in plenty, for we learn from the columns of *Rouge et Noir*, in 1880, of many complaints about the purchase of thirteen self-feeders (or "base-burners") for the halls, to supplement the lecture-room "warmers" of various patterns, and the thirty fire-places in rooms throughout the College. Commenting thereon the editor pertinently asks whether this system is cheaper and more satisfactory than a steam furnace would be. The following winter complaint is made that several students were late for 7:30 chapel, "owing to precious moments lost in excavating a hole through the ice in the water-jugs," and that "the temperature is still very low in spite of fourteen stoves or so; we heartily wish that some better plan for warming our corridors would be devised."²

Smoking, the traditional solace of students, was prohibited in College. When not too obtrusively evident in the corridors, it was often winked at by the Dean, but those who were fond of "the weed" were driven to various devices for the enjoyment of what is now an almost universal luxury. Both Provost Whitaker and Bishop Strachan had strong objections to the practice and rigidly enforced the regulation. In 1860, a petition from the students to the Corporation

²*Rouge et Noir*, January 1880 and February 1881.

asking for some amelioration of the rule was referred to a committee consisting of the Provost, Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, and Mr. George W. Allan. This committee recommended "that the Provost be authorized to relax the existing rule so far as may appear to him reasonable."³

If a student wished to go into the city—it was then far to the east of the College—he had to return before evening chapel, when the doors were locked. Two evenings a week, however, a student could obtain leave to stay out until midnight and sometimes, as a great concession, even later. "Down town" was some two miles away, and he had to walk every step of it there and back, unless he could get a lift on one of the many wood-sleighs returning empty to the country. There were few buildings west of Spadina Avenue, street-cars were unknown until 1861, and few students could afford cab hire.

A custom of the College referred to by one of these early students was a daily social gathering much appreciated by the men. At the summons of the steward's bell after 9:30 chapel, they gathered in the dining room or the common room for a glass of beer with crackers and cheese. It was an occasion for reunion, good fellowship, gossip, and friendly argument which was greatly enjoyed, and the hospitality of the steward was seldom abused. Many lasting friendships were cemented as a result of these gatherings.

"There were giants in those days," men who attained high honour and won distinction and esteem in various walks of life, in the church, the state, and education. "Parsons, judges, lawyers, physicians, men of business, they are to be found, not in Canada only, but in every quarter of the globe . . . they have held their own wherever they have gone. They learned at Trinity not so much to be specialists in any particular department of knowledge, as to be Christian gentlemen, exponents of the honour and courtesy which

³Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, November 6, 1860.

form the foundation of the noblest characters. This is one of the advantages, and it is a most important one, of the residential system of student life.”⁴

There was a literary society from the first. Originally a debating society, organized at the Diocesan Theological Institution in Cobourg in the forties, it was transplanted to Trinity when the Institution became the Faculty of Divinity in the new College in January 1852. From that date it was a weekly feature of College life during the winter months.⁵ The reception of a freshman into the Lit. was an occasion to be remembered. He was required to make a speech or sing a song or generally make of himself an object of mirth and good-natured raillery.

But that was only the beginning of the initiation proceedings. This was followed by the “rout,” a rather terrifying experience. In those early days the unfortunate freshman was aroused in the middle of the night, and his mattress pulled from under him; then he was dragged from his bed and taken to a basement room, usually one of the “catacombs,” and compelled to drink from a pewter vessel what might have been, for all he knew, a potion of deadly poison. If he survived this ordeal he was subjected to further inflictions. One student was so affected by the treatment that he left Trinity never to return. Provost Whitaker, realizing the harm to the College which might result if the news got abroad, called the students together and delivered so severe a lecture on the occurrence that the “rout” was abandoned the following year. But the initiation, although originally harmless and sometimes conducted with a semblance of dignity, developed, as years went by, into something more

⁴See “From 1852 Onward,” in *The Review*, June 1902.

⁵There is in the possession of the College the minute book of the Debating Society, which records the *last* meeting in Cobourg on December 5, 1851, and on the next page, the *first* meeting at Trinity College, Toronto, on January 23, 1852. At this meeting there were proposed for membership Messrs. Beaven, Bogert, and Langtry of the first year. They were duly admitted at the next meeting on February 6, and from then on the debates became more disputatious, if not contentious.

serious and far less excusable. Practices were introduced which, in the opinion of the authorities, not only interfered with the liberty of the student but subjected him to personal indignity. Instead of a mild initiation it came to be known as the "inquisition" and in the late eighties assumed such proportions that Provost Body was compelled to take summary action. Under threat of rustication for the ring-leaders and heavy fines for all others concerned he put an end to it for a time. The senior students were compelled to subscribe to a declaration that they would neither participate in nor countenance such initiations in the future.

But despite the Provost's efforts initiations of sorts continued. They were carried on in out-of-the-way places and, as long as they were mild affairs, they were winked at by the Dean. In the early days of Provost Macklem's régime matters again got out of hand and he determined to put the initiation down once and for all. Since students were being recruited from the high schools of the Province, he did not want parents scared off with alarming tales of hazing and persecution. Early in the Michaelmas Term of 1901 certain regrettable incidents occurred which gave him his opportunity. He called a meeting of the whole College and stated, in no uncertain terms, the disgrace it would be to the College if there was any publicity. In this he was supported by Dean Rigby, Professor Michael Mackenzie, and Professor H. C. Simpson, who were all graduates of English universities. The Provost pointed out that, if the College Council took official notice of the affair, scholarship holders might lose their scholarships, and others involved might be "sent down." As an alternative the authorities offered to overlook it if every man would sign an undertaking that he would never again take part in such affairs. After some discussion, and not without a certain feeling of resentment on the part of the student body that they had been forced into a false position by these threats, an agreement was reached and

initiations abolished, it was hoped, for all time to come. In addition there was a "gentlemen's agreement" that there would be no more interference with the personal liberty of any student.

With the turn of the century there came several changes in College customs. Shortly after the initiation affair, although not directly connected with it, the time-honoured custom of serving beer in Hall was discontinued. Although the edict came from the Provost under a general order that the use of all alcoholic liquors would be abolished after the seventh of March 1902, this action was initiated by a petition signed by a majority of students and presented to the authorities. Thus came to an abrupt end an institution half a century old. This prompted a new version of an old song, of which the chorus ran, in part:

Milk, milk, glorious milk!
 Fill yourselves right up with milk. . . .
 Don't be afraid of it, drink till you're made of it. . . .
 Up with the sale of it, down with a pail of it
 Glorious, glorious milk!⁶

The following year saw the end of the Pelican Club, one of the last of a long list of traditions and customs concerning the freshmen which had linked each generation of students with those that had preceded it. The Pelican Club was a boxing club which every freshman was compelled to join and then fight several rounds with another freshman. These "bouts," originally organized under the guise of athletic competition, had degenerated into mere "slugging" matches, with so little regard for the ethics of "the manly art," that the senior students recommended the abolition of the club. *The Review*, with its usual conservatism, while lamenting the disappearance of worth-while traditions, congratulated the students on voluntarily ending the Pelican, when it was

⁶*The Review*, March 1902.

plain that the club was on the down grade and would sooner or later be abolished by the College authorities.

One of the institutions peculiar to Trinity, established almost at the beginning of the College and still observed, is Episkopon.⁷ "Interwoven in the warp and woof of College tradition and association runs the thread—the yearly visits of the venerable Father Episkopon. It has been the weapon of righteous indignation, humorous upbraiding or scornful reproof, just and meet."⁸ Its motto *Notandi sunt tibi mores* has indicated its policy since the publication of the first manuscript book in 1858. Originally intended as a monthly, it became an annual visit. The message of the benign Father, through the mouth of his scribe, was delivered, usually, on the seventeenth of March,⁹ the anniversary of the turning of the first sod prior to the erection of the College, but the reason for choosing that particular date is obscure. Although the monitory office of Father Episkopon has not always found favour in the eyes of the authorities, and has been frequently and adversely criticized by the undergraduates, it has, in the eyes of the graduate body, served a useful purpose.

Attempts have been made from time to time to discontinue the annual visits of the venerable Father. In the early seventies there was trouble brewing. The freshmen resented the repeated criticisms, the holding up to ridicule of their foibles, "the shaft of sarcasm, the blaze of wit, the thunderbolts of censure and the merry jests." They also maintained that they had no privileges, no representation in the Literary Society, in fact no rights at all. They rebelled and set them-

⁷Whether the venerable Father came with the opening of the College is uncertain; but, in 1858, according to H. N. Taylor, '26, "he took up his quarters in the pepper-box belfry from which lofty abode he has kept faithful watch over his children." *The Review*, Farewell number, 1925.

⁸*Trinity University Year Book*, 1896 and 1897.

⁹"The glorious 17th of March—Father Episkopon pays us his visit on that day as usual." *The Review*, February 1903.

selves up a false god by the name of "Kritikos," a publication on the same lines as Episkopon's annual message, under the leadership of John Farncomb, '77, then a second-year student. The first number of Kritikos appeared in February 1875, and was almost entirely his work. There was no Episkopon that year, nor again until 1879. Kritikos lasted for three issues, but by 1877 even Mr. Farncomb grew restive under its too acrid wit. "Thus it happened that the very scribe and his colleagues who had so affectionately gagged their venerable Monitor, began to repent of their former deeds and resolved to renew their old allegiance. Mr. Farncomb became the scribe for 1877-78, but it was an empty honour; Father Episkopon considered they needed a lesson and gave out that his aged *constitution* would not permit his appearance."¹⁰ Consequently, there was no message. Since 1879 there have been but two years without the Father's annual message: 1887-88 and 1945-46.

Many who became distinguished graduates have filled the office of scribe to the Venerable Father, notably, to mention but a few, the Reverend C. J. S. Bethune; Canon Arthur Jarvis; the Reverend C. H. Shortt; the poet Archibald Lampman, Scribe for two years, 1881 and 1882; Michael A. Mackenzie; Charles S. MacInnes, Q.C.; John G. Althouse, now Director of Education, Province of Ontario; the Reverend Harold McCausland; Archdeacon F. J. Sawers; R. V. Harris; the Reverend W. Lyndon Smith, a Rhodes Scholar; Archbishop Charles A. Seager; and Archbishop Derwyn T. Owen.

In the early days formal dinners were held at infrequent intervals. They were chiefly the Christmas dinner given by the students to which the dons were invited and the June dinner given by the authorities at the close of examinations. Of a more select or family character were the "freshmen's

¹⁰From the article by R. V. Harris, '02, K.C., M.A., D.C.L., Scribe of Episkopon, volume XL, in *The Review*, June 1902.

spread" and the SS. Simon and Jude supper on the twenty-eighth of October, the day of the annual steeplechase. This event developed later into a day of general athletics, and the supper became an occasion for the formal presentation of awards. With the increase in the student body in the late eighties the SS. Simon and Jude supper was enlarged still further into a University and Convocation banquet. It proved to be a function of great value as an annual "get-together" and was only discontinued on the outbreak of the war in 1914.

The origin of the College colours, red and black, is another tradition handed down from the early days. But here, we have definite authority. A former student, Frederick Barlow Cumberland, '67, has related how the colours came to be.

One day when the football team was going out to play with Trinity School [T.C.S.] which at that time was domiciled at Weston it was thought well to have some mark by which to distinguish the players. [The writer] had with him a piece of Cheltenham College ribbon, being alternate bands of crimson and black. This being cut into smaller portions, a piece was pinned on the shirt of each player, so that those on the University side might be thus identified.

The expedient spread; its utilities in the football and the cricket field were evident, while it also furnished a convenient mode of evidencing *esprit de corps* and connection with the alma mater. The present Trinity University colours of scarlet and black, as now worn, were then formally adopted.¹¹

And that, too, is the reason the name *Rouge et Noir* was given to the predecessor of *The Review*.

Among other student activities which came into being in the early days was the Glee Club. Most of its efforts were confined to the College, but occasionally the members sallied forth on a serenading trip by moonlight. A favourite place for their nocturnal serenades was Mrs. Foster's Ladies Academy on Grenville Street—St. Hilda's College then being unthought of. The Club had its ups and downs, success of

¹¹*Ibid.*, January 1889. See also *Rouge et Noir*, vol. II, no. 2.

course being largely dependent upon the vocal talent of its members. But it never died out completely and in certain years acquitted itself, to use a favorite Victorian phrase, with great *éclat*.

An entertainment popular in the early seventies was the occasional minstrel show, a student enterprise which was looked upon with disfavour by the dons and the Provost, who professed himself profoundly shocked when he heard of it. To quote the reminiscences of Canon Arthur Jarvis: "Our audience was not used to this kind of performance, but, robbed as it was of all vulgarity and made to turn on college and society life, it took very well. George A. Mackenzie was the dignified 'middle man'; Allan Anderson was one undignified 'end man'; Henry Osborne Jones the other; old Greene¹² looked benevolent in burnt cork; Burnham [John Warren] played second fiddle; Jarvis tootled his flute and Clarke [the Reverend W. Hoyes] filled in at the piano."¹³ Such were the recreations of the period.

In the eighties there also flourished the Trinity College Choral Club organized by John Carter, '82, later of Pusey House, Oxford, and mayor of that city. He was of a musical family, his father having been for many years organist of St. James' Cathedral. Among the active members of the club were two future bishops, Charles Scadding and Charles H. Brent, both singers of ability. Their singing of the "Gobble" duet from *La Mascotte* seems to have been a *tour de force* and much in demand. The club travelled to many outside points during vacation and their concerts, whether in country school-house or in Osgoode Hall, were equally appreciated.¹⁴

Annual concerts were popular in the gay nineties. Thanks to the Reverend Canon F. A. P. Chadwick we have the pro-

¹²Canon Arthur Jarvis, '71, Rector of Napanee, from his manuscript "Reminiscences," in the possession of his daughter, Miss Julia Jarvis, of the University of Toronto Library.

¹³Canon R. W. E. Greene, Div. '71, L.Th. '84.

¹⁴*Rouge et Noir*, vol. III, no. 2.

gramme presented by the Trinity Banjo, Guitar and Mandolin Club in April 1894. The Club was trained and conducted by a professional and consisted of five performers on banjeaurines (a diminutive banjo of higher register than the ordinary instrument)—C. Richards, W. R. Wadsworth, H. C. Osborne, Chris Sparling, and Lorne Becher; four banjos, E. P. O'Reilly, Alexis Martin, Frank DuMoulin, and D. F. Campbell; four guitars, Harry Southam, Charles Mockridge, J. D. McMurrich, and E. C. Clarke; and four mandolins, played by S. G. Bennett, Le Grand Reed, F. A. P. Chadwick, and E. G. Warren.

At a concert and dance in Convocation Hall the following November there were eleven musical numbers, including part songs and vocal and instrumental solos. After two hours of patient and polite attention on the part of the students, on came the dance, "twenty and an extra!" Compare it with one of the present day. There were ten waltzes, two lancers, three schottisches and five *deux temps* (a rapid form of the waltz); the committee responsible for this entertainment was made up of the Reverend Frank DuMoulin, H. B. Gwyn, H. C. Osborne, E. Glyn Osler, and F. A. P. Chadwick.

About the year 1905 a few members of the honour Moderns classes, who frequently met in Professor A. H. Young's cosy room for tea, a friendly chat, or general discussion, raised the question, "Why not a Trinity Glee Club?" With "Archie's" enthusiastic support, ably abetted by Geoffrey Holt, '04, Howard Coulter, '05, Bruce McCausland and Arthur McGreer, both of '06, and W. W. Judd, '08, results followed fast. "Archie" was appointed Honorary President, Hamilton R. Mockridge, '04, President, a conductor in the person of F. C. Coombs, previously choirmaster at T.C.S., was secured, and the infant society was launched. It was a success from the first, and its initial concert in Easter Term 1906 created a most favourable impression. The concert became an annual event, the programmes presented receiving highly compli-

mentary press comments. Mr. Coombs was a talented and successful conductor who could arouse and maintain the interest of the students. Until 1915 the chorus was made up entirely of men but the war had its effect on the enrolment and it became necessary to include women students. After the war efforts were made to revive the Glee Club, but its thirteenth concert in 1922 marked its last performance and it disbanded. The Dramatic Society was increasing in popularity and it was found difficult to maintain and support many societies in a small college.

Wars and rumours of war! The patriotic feeling aroused by the Crimean War in the fifties and by other conflicts, and, finally, the fervour which swept over the country in 1861 on account of the "Trent Affair" resulted in the amalgamation of the several independent volunteer militia companies in Toronto and vicinity into one unit, the Second Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles, subsequently to be designated by Her Majesty the Queen as the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto. Number 8 Company, organized in 1861, was known as the Trinity College Company; Number 9, organized nearly a year later, as the University College Company.¹⁵ A student of those days recalled, forty years later, the value of the exercise and the spirit of *camaraderie* developed in the Trinity Company; it brought the non-resident students into closer social relations with the residents and was a good thing in every way.¹⁶ Fifty students and graduates joined the company at its formation and were fortunate in having Major Robert B. Denison of Bellevue (Toronto) as their first commanding officer. So well did they acquitted themselves at the first inspection in February 1862 that the Adjutant-General expressed the opinion that this was among the best volunteer corps he had inspected.

¹⁵In March 1872, the designation of companies was changed from numerals to letters, and the University College Company was known thereafter as "K" Company.

¹⁶D. F. Bogert, '63, in *The Review*, December 1902.

On the thirty-first of May 1866, the Queen's Own Rifles, together with other militia regiments, was called out to repel the invasion of the Niagara Peninsula by a force of Fenians, an attack which had been expected for some months. The Trinity men doffed cap and gown, put aside their books, and two days later were actively engaged in an action which took place near Ridgeway, a few miles west of Fort Erie. With the impetuosity of youth, the regiment went into action without waiting for the support of the regular forces. The University College Company suffered the most severely, with three men killed and four wounded. The Trinity Company, under the command of Captain L. P. Sherwood, advancing in open skirmishing order on the extreme left, suffered no casualties, and remained in action throughout the fight. After the Fenians withdrew, the regiment proceeded to Fort Erie and two days later was sent, as a precautionary measure, to Stratford (an important railway junction), there to remain until the eighteenth of June. There they were joined by other volunteers, which increased the Trinity company's parade state to sixty-five. Twelve of these Trinity men subsequently took Holy Orders.¹⁷

The company continued on the active strength of the Queen's Own Rifles as the Trinity College Company until 1876, when it was disbanded. It had been felt for some years that the time taken for military duties unduly interfered with the academic work of the College. Attempts were made from time to time to revive interest in military training but without avail. In December 1880, on the reorganization of the 10th Battalion into the Royal Grenadiers, a Trinity Company was proposed; but this attempt was unsuccessful owing to the small registration in the College. Trinity men have always been to the fore when danger threatened the country and the Empire, notably in the Northwest Rebellion in 1885,

¹⁷A complete list is given in the article by Mr. S. Bruce Harman, "The Trinity College Rifle Company," *ibid.*, June 1902.

the Boer War, 1899-1902, and, of course, in the Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, which will be dealt with later.¹⁸

The enrolment of matriculants in Michaelmas Term 1867 was the smallest in the history of Trinity—seven in all; but the life of the College went on. Most of the new-comers were from Trinity College School, then at Weston, but with the exception of William Osler¹⁹ and R. Gregory Cox, both brilliant and hard-working students, the majority, freed from the restraints of home influence, found the discipline not too rigidly enforced and often easily evaded. They defied “gates”²⁰ by patronizing private entrances through barred windows, easily negotiated. As one dean remarked in a clever parody some years later,

Trinity's a stage,

And all the students in it are but players,
They have their exits and their entrances,
Known only to themselves and hidden from the Dean.²¹

The wearing of cap and gown in the streets was, for many years, a cause of friction. The authorities, to use the words of an old graduate, seemed to regard an ungowned student as “an indecent exhibition of academic nakedness.” Trinity men, as at Oxford and Cambridge, were required to wear

¹⁸In the Northwest Rebellion, which broke out in March 1885, the following Trinity men were with the colours: George Herbert Broughall, '83, Robert B. Beaumont, '82, and J. Earl Helliwell, '79, who was severely wounded at the battle of Batoche. In 1894 six Trinity students were members of “I” Company, popularly known as “Murray’s Dandies,” namely, F. A. P. Chadwick, H. B. Gwyn, C. H. Lee, E. Glyn Osler, W. L. Baynes Reed, and E. C. Wragge.

¹⁹Sir William Osler (1849-1919) entered Trinity from Trinity College School, Weston, in October 1867. In his first year he won the Dickson Scholarship, but in the fall of 1868 decided to follow the profession of medicine. From 1868 to 1870 he was a student at the Toronto School of Medicine; then he transferred to McGill University where he graduated M.D., 1872. Two years later he returned from Europe to join the teaching staff of the McGill Medical Faculty. In 1902, at the Jubilee Convocation, Trinity conferred upon him the degree of D.C.L. (*honoris causa*).

²⁰To be “gated” originally meant being confined to the College precincts as a penalty for over-staying leave or some such breach of regulations. In 1868-9, the penalty was changed to a fine, e.g., for going out without cap and gown the fine was twenty-five cents.

²¹*The Review*, April 1904, verses by Dean Duckworth.

academicals in the streets, but the University of Toronto men were not, and if any of the latter were encountered there was usually trouble. When Trinity men went into town, ungowned, it was a game of "hide and seek" between them and the professors, and fines and impositions and "gates" were of constant occurrence. If he was successful in evading detection the student still had to manage entrance to the College unnoticed. One of the gentlest, most devout, and most conscientious of the senior Divinity men occupied a room on the ground floor and there was a strong suspicion, never proven, that his windows were used by fellow residents for purposes other than light and ventilation.

A petition of the students in 1866 that the wearing of the cap and gown in the streets during the severe winter was prejudicial to health received the following consolatory consideration of the Corporation: "That in respect to the memorial of the students on the subject of wearing the academical dress in the streets during the severity of the winter, the Corporation is of the opinion that the present cap may be made sufficiently warm by the addition of black fur to meet all reasonable objections, (if approved by the professor in residence), and that the gown must still be retained."²² Needless to say the suggestion was not adopted. Ten years later, however, the rule requiring the wearing of cap and gown outside the College was withdrawn.²³

Although the coming of Provost Body in 1881 did not materially affect the attendance at first, the result of his enlightened policies became evident in the later eighties, described by one graduate as the "growing times of Trinity."

The erection of the Chapel in 1884, the extension of the western wing five years later (which doubled the previous accommodation), and the addition of lecture rooms well lighted and heated, a proper reading room, and an athletic

²²Trinity College, Minute Book of Corporation, December 11, 1866.

²³*Ibid.*, May 10, 1876.

room all contributed to the convenience and physical comfort of the students. "There was more opportunity for good fellowship, and the line was not too distinctly marked between residents and non-residents. Even the year distinctions were not emphasized except in the freshman's first term; class feeling was of later growth. The good fellowship found expression in social gatherings in students' rooms, where music, or a game of whist and a modest supper from the buttery contributed to the general enjoyment. And this fellowship entered into every phase of the college life, work, sports and leisure, invariably resulting in the formation of life-long friendships."²⁴

The first-year enrolment in 1886 reached twenty-seven. Among well-remembered names were D'Arcy Martin, Harold Bedford-Jones, J. Grayson Smith, Ford Jones, Stewart F. Houston, and H. P. Lowe (father of the present Dean of Christ Church, Oxford). The class also included the first woman graduate, Miss Helen Emma Gregory, and her future husband, James Henry MacGill.²⁵

In 1887 enrolment fell off considerably, but that of 1888 was large again and proved a powerful factor in College politics. It could hardly be otherwise with such men as W. H. White, an eminent classical scholar; G. H. P. Grout; F. C. Powell, later a Cowley Father; J. H. H. Coleman, to become an Archdeacon; J. A. Leighton, Ph.D. Cornell, and Professor at Ohio State University; R. H. Clive Pringle, later a Senator of Canada; F. B. Howden, a future Bishop of New Mexico; J. G. L. Abbott; J. G. Carter Troop, a journalist of experience and ability, and eventually Professor of English in the University of Chicago; and Thomas W. Powell, Div.

²⁴The Reverend H. H. Bedford-Jones, '89, D.D. '20 (*honoris causa*) in *The Review*, February 1903.

²⁵Mrs. MacGill was the first woman to take lectures in Trinity, the first woman to receive the Bachelor of Music degree ('86), one of the first to graduate Bachelor of Arts ('89) and Master of Arts ('90). She was the first appointed Juvenile Court judge of Vancouver (1917-29; and again 1934-47).

'93, as a student a mixture of levity and seriousness, of laxity and ambition, a maker of warm friends, who were both surprised and delighted at his later achievements.²⁶

The beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century was particularly promising both to the authorities and the friends of the College and to the undergraduates. The first-year enrolment in 1890 was so great, comparatively, as to delight the dons and alarm the grave and reverend seniors. How was such a swarm of freshmen to be properly controlled? Had not the "inquisition" in all its horrors been sternly prohibited and the threat of rustication directed against anyone found guilty of indulging in such Roman practices? But such fears were soon allayed. The freshmen showed a proper deference to their elders and, when one of their number did transgress the proprieties, they were perfectly willing that he should be properly disciplined. The Reverend H. B. Gwyn described his year in 1903:

In point of scholarship none of our number was brilliant, not because they lacked capacity but simply because they did not try to be; and but few could be characterized as reading men. Their brawn and brain were devoted more to College institutions, and if the good Provost sighed in his saintly way, and that grand old gentleman of history and philosophy [Professor Clark] raved, and Mr. Smyth, professor of the sciences, was in despair, the institutions, which, after all, are half of a man's education, profited by the new infusion. In all elections the first year held the balance of power. In one of the most exciting elections for the presidency of the Literary Institute it was '93 that put the redoubtable freshman "Biddy" DuMoulin²⁷ at the head of the polls and two or three of their number on the council."²⁸

The College journal, *Rouge et Noir*, was transformed in 1888 into *The Trinity University Review*, the former title, on account of its imaginary association with a popular game of chance, never having found favour with the College author-

²⁶Chapter VII, *supra*, p. 141.

²⁷The Right Reverend Frank DuMoulin, '92, M.A. '94, D.D. (*jure dignitatis*) '16, Coadjutor Bishop of Ohio.

²⁸The Reverend H. B. Gwyn, '93, in *The Review*, March 1903.

ties and many of the older graduates. In every way, however, it was the same publication and like its predecessor, "a Journal of Literature, University Thought and Events," with the same motto, *Fortiter, fideliter, forsan feliciter.*²⁹ The man who "made the *Review*" was undoubtedly Jared G. Carter Troop, '92. Entering the College in 1888, he was the first freshman to be appointed to the editorial staff and to the position of business manager. He had had considerable journalistic and business experience before entering Trinity at the age of thirty and this stood him in good stead when he was appointed editor-in-chief the following year. Under his management the circulation of *The Review* and its advertising soon doubled. Early in 1889 an arrangement was made with Convocation for an annual subvention. In return for this grant Convocation was allowed representation on the Board, exclusive use of specified space, and copies for all its members. In addition, news items from St. Hilda's College, Trinity Medical College, and Trinity College School were welcomed and the journal became in fact, as well as in name, *The Trinity University Review*. After his graduation Mr. Troop continued as editor-in-chief until May 1896, so that his association with *The Review* and the College extended over eight years. In his interesting article in the Jubilee number of *The Review* in 1902, he mentions with appreciation some of the men associated with him on the editorial staff: Tracy Norgate, '90; Harold Bedford-Jones, '89; F. B. Howden, '91, who wrote up the sports; Charles Hedley, '92; and Charles S. MacInnes, '92, the latter a sound scholar, and one of the most intellectual men ever in Trinity. Mr. Troop's mantle fell on Henry Campbell Osborne, '96, whom he had trained as his successor and who carried on the traditions laid down by his tutor.

The financing of any periodical is always a problem and that of *The Review* (and its predecessor) was no exception.

²⁹See chapter iv, *supra*, p. 82.

Advertisements had to be secured, for few journals can subsist on subscriptions alone. In the days of *Rouge et Noir* the editor was offered what then was a small fortune by the proprietor of a well-known patent medicine if a student could be prevailed upon to "do" King Street, at the fashionable afternoon parade of beaux and belles, with a sandwich-board to advertise his nostrum. The temptation to earn easy money was great, but the risk of incurring official displeasure was greater, so the offer was regretfully declined. Twenty-five years later an enterprising advertising manager of *The Review* undertook to obtain an advertisement from a well-known firm of undertakers near the College gates, if the managing editor would accept it. To the consternation of the editor (now an eminent director of education) he appeared the next day with the signed contract for an advertisement which read, "Back to the land and small holdings—See Bates and Dodds, Queen St. West."

Whence came the College song *Met' Agona?* All traces of its origin are lost. It is not as old as the College—one who had been among the first graduates recalled a chorus *Nunc est bibendum fratres* which, he said, had "long been superseded by a better tune."³⁰ According to the late Reverend Charles H. Shortt, '79, and the late Kirwan Martin, '82, the present version is not the original one. At any rate it was not the one sung in the sixties. The original version may have seen the light nearly ninety years ago, for the tune to which it was and is sung, *Maryland, My Maryland* was popular at the time of the American Civil War in the 1860's.

Algernon Boys, Professor of Classics 1878-90, contended that *Met' Agona* had been brought from a German university by one of his predecessors, Dean Ambery, Professor of Classics in 1856. Professor Boys did not like the verse and composed another version in both Latin and Greek.³¹

³⁰"From 1852 Onward," in *The Review*, June 1902.

³¹C. Y. Connor: *Archibald Lampman* (Montreal, 1929), p. 47.

Whether this is the one used today is problematical, but Canon Jarvis said that in his time (1867-71) *Met' Agona* always preceded the reading of Episkopon.³²

In 1942 Mr. Shortt and Mr. Martin wrote for *The Review* their recollections of *Met' Agona* and its history.

In the University Memorial Tower there hangs a bell, the Trinity bell of the *carillon*; and on that bell there is the inscription *Met' Agona Stephanos*. Whoever chose that motto must have been inspired, for nothing could express more perfectly what Trinity wanted to say about those who had given their lives in the Great War—"After the struggle the crown." Since we began singing those opening words of the chorus over seventy years ago, they have had many applications, but never a more perfect one.

We are now moved to write about *Met' Agona* because we feel that misapprehensions exist concerning its history and use, and that one of the unique features of Trinity has been neglected in recent years. Our desire is that its history should be made known so far as it can be ascertained and that the song should take its proper place, a prominent one, in suitable College functions, and be recognized as an important institution, having an honoured place, with a permanent appeal to Trinity men, a bond binding them together. What is there that appeals more to Trinity men in gatherings of past and present than the singing of *Met' Agona* by the whole body assembled, putting their souls in the singing, recalling memories of happy days of College life, an outpouring of the souls of the singers? This cannot be done with the singing of one verse and one chorus. To rouse the singers and to get to the depth of their beings, at least four verses should be sung.

By *Met' Agona* we mean the three Greek verses as sung at the SS. Simon and Jude's dinners— together with the St. Hilda's verse.

The latter is in Latin, and is attributed to Professor E. W. Huntingford, a member of the staff in Classics from 1891 to 1899.

'Ορμαώμεθ', ἀδελφοί,
eis ἀγῶνα δεινόν,
παντελῶς δυνάμενοι
νικᾶν πάντα ἔχθρόν.

Brothers, let us hasten
To the fierce contest,
For we are perfectly capable
Of conquering every foe.

³²Canon Arthur Jarvis, '71, "Reminiscences."

μετ' ἀγῶνα στέφανος
μέλος καὶ σημένον·
αἰρώμεθ' ἐς τὸ τέλος
ἡμῖν κύδος φαιδρόν.

'Αχιλλεὺς δὲ ποδάρκης
δὲ Αρης τε θεῶν
Κρονίων καὶ Ἡρακλῆς
ἡσάσθιονθ' ὑψὸν ἡμῶν.

χαίρομεν γηθοσύνη
κλέοντες καὶ ὕμνῳ
ψάλλομεν Σίμωνά τε
'Ιουδάν τε δών.

*After the contest come the crown,
The song and the symbol;
Let us, to the end, win
For ourselves shining glory.*

Achilles the swift-footed
And, of the gods, Ares,
Zeus and Heracles
Could be vanquished by us.

We rejoice with delight
And, celebrating with song,
We make music to Simon and
Jude, Saints twain.

St. Hilda's Verse

Sanctam Hildam canimus
In voce puellae
Unde mox exibimus,
Doctae atque bellae.

In treble voice
We sing in praise of St. Hilda's
When we shall presently go forth,
Learned and beautiful.

Other verses have been added from time to time. One (1895), also by Professor Huntingford, which had no connection with the Greek verses, was in Latin and to the effect that "too much spirits intoxicate the freshmen."³³ Another (1899), also in Latin and by Professor Huntingford, was written to celebrate a rare occasion, the victory in football over Varsity. In 1901, when the Duke and Duchess of York visited Canada, Professor Oswald Smith contributed two excellent verses in honour of our future sovereigns, King George V and his gracious consort. A Greek verse was added in 1921 for the installation of Provost Seager, and one by Dean Duckworth, also in Greek, in honour of the sixth Provost, Dr. Cosgrave, on his taking office in 1927.

³³This Latin verse is frequently sung and runs as follows:

Nimium cervissii
ebriat tirones;
non oportet fieri
vappas nebulones.

A paraphrase of the original song by Professor Duckworth is worthy of preservation.

Forward men of Trinity
To the deadly battle!
Fall upon the enemy
Scatter them like cattle!

*Field-day's crown of joyful feast
Shout and song victorious;
Trinity amid the stars
Blazing ever glorious!*

Peleus' song the swift of foot
Jove with all his thunder
Brass-hat Mars and Hercules
One and all go under.

Cheer and roar for we have done
Mighty deeds to rhyme on,
Praise we all the blessed pair
Holy Jude and Simon.

In concluding the article referred to, Mr. Shortt and Mr. Martin urged the restoration of the annual reunion to the College calendar, on SS. Simon and Jude's Day, the twenty-eighth of October. The Old Boys' football game, followed by dinner, would have an appeal to graduates and undergraduates as an unique opportunity for meetings of old friends and the revival of old memories by the singing of *Met' Agona*. "Zeal," said they, "was the outstanding feature of the two apostles, SS. Simon and Jude, and zeal is the point of our College Song, whether we apply it to a rugger game or to an examination, to a battle in Egypt or elsewhere, or to a contest within ourselves."³⁴

The Dramatic Club, of which Lally McCarthy, '92, was the prime mover, came into existence in 1890, with performances in the College and an occasional visit to nearby hamlets and towns. The Club met with success and, with the help of a professional coach, produced such well-known plays as Byron's *Our Boys*, Burnand's *Betsy*, and Pinero's *The Magistrate*. This last, their most ambitious attempt, was produced in a down-town theatre in 1894, the proceeds

³⁴It is worthy of note that both Mr. Shortt and Mr. Kirwan Martin were each, in turn, Trinity's oldest living graduate. Mr. Shortt, who was born in 1858, graduated in 1879 and died in April 1948 in his ninetieth year. His busy life of nearly ninety years was, almost to the day, the length of Bishop Strachan's (1778-1867). Mr. Kirwan Martin graduated in 1882 and died in 1950 in his eighty-seventh year. Both were distinguished graduates and both maintained an intense love for their College throughout their long and useful lives.

being for the benefit of the Athletic Association. The returns were nil, but many reputations were made. A tour during the Easter holidays embracing Guelph, Woodstock, Brantford, and Hamilton bankrupted the company as well as the actors. After this experience the College authorities frowned on such ambitious ventures but by that time most of the prominent actors had graduated—there were no more tours and the old halls knew them no more. “After all, the motive was good and the players’ interest in the Athletic Association’s finances . . . beyond question. . . . They were good plays, though, and capitally acted—the players said so themselves. So did the newspapers—with qualifications.”³⁵ A few of those who displayed histrionic ability were the late Reverend E. V. Stevenson, ’92; John C. H. Mockridge, ’92, D.D., now retired; E. C. Cattanach, ’94, K.C.; Henry C. Osborne, ’96, later a colonel and a C.M.G.; and a future Provost and Archbishop, the late Dr. Charles Allen Seager, ’95, one of Trinity’s distinguished sons.

The Boer War (1899-1902) aroused patriotic fervour throughout Canada. Among the eleven Trinity men who enlisted were Edwin Patrick O'Reilly, '95 (son of Major J. E. O'Reilly, '55, Master in Chancery, Hamilton), who fell in battle; Major Donald M. Howard, '81 (Queen's Medal and four clasps); E. C. Wragge, '93; A. E. Pottinger, '93; Lieutenant R. H. Temple, '97; *W. G. H. Bates, class of '97 (machine gun officer 1914; killed at Ypres, April 1915); J. Gladwyn Macdougall, '98; *Major C. Stuart Wilkie, '98; *Capt. Duncan F. Campbell, '98 (D.S.O., Queen's Medal and four clasps, wounded, mentioned in despatches; later M.P. for North Ayrshire, Scotland); *R. A. Carman, '00; *T. W. B. Marling, '01.

The Trinity Medical College was represented by seventeen men in the Army Medical Services, “a good list for one

*Also served in World War I.

³⁵Provost Seager in *The Review*, Midsummer, 1925.

Canadian Medical College," all of whom made a splendid contribution. Outstanding were Surgeon-General George Sterling Ryerson, '75, who had also served in the Fenian Raid of 1870 and in the Northwest Rebellion, 1885, was founder of the Canadian Red Cross, 1896, and later was to be Colonel-in-Chief, C.A.M.C., in the First World War; and Lieutenant L. E. Wentworth-Irving, M.D., C.M. 1900, D.S.O., and Queen's Medal with four clasps.

The first signs of a turn in the tide of the many military reverses came with the relief of Ladysmith on the first of March 1900, followed by the relief of Mafeking on the eighteenth of May. Both were the signals for gala celebrations in the College: lectures were called off by the mutual consent of staff and students, and the festivities ended with monster bonfires in the driveway in front of the College.

The resignation of the Dean of Residence, Professor Oswald Rigby, in the spring of 1903 came as a shock to the staff and students alike. He had been an ideal dean during his twelve years of office, and had endeared himself to all by his tact, patience, absolute justice and impartiality, and unswerving devotion to his work. As headmaster of Trinity College School for the next ten years Dr. Rigby exercised a beneficial influence and trained many boys who afterwards became prominent in the undergraduate life of Trinity. "What the College loses in the Dean," said *The Review*, "may be partly estimated from the fact that he has at some time or other performed the duties of nearly every office in the College and has been on every committee since his appointment to the faculty.... He has, also, been on the governing bodies of Bishop Strachan School and Trinity College School.... In this College he identified himself with all the undergraduate societies, the Literary Institute and the Athletic Association in particular. An athlete himself and a firm believer in all forms of athletics, his encouragement and

assistance have added greatly to the efficiency of the Association.”³⁶

Dr. Rigby’s successor as Dean of Residence was Professor H. T. F. Duckworth, Scholar of Merton College, Oxford, who had been appointed Professor of Divinity in 1901. Tall, angular, and loose-jointed in structure, his melancholy, if not morose, countenance disguised an alert mind, a vigorous speech, and mordant wit. As Dean of Residence he showed himself possessed of the discerning eye that overlooked the inconsequential but was wide open to things that mattered. His influence was as great as his figure was unforgettable, and many a student gained from him his first insight into the nature of scholarship. Whether as Professor of Divinity, or of Greek, or of Ancient History, which positions he held in turn, or in the routine of administration, or at an athletic dinner, his sense of humour would delight when most unexpected. One recalls, too, the incident of the student hurrying into chapel and tearing his gown on a post, when the Dean promptly opened the service with the well-known exhortation, “Rend your heart and not your garments.”³⁷

Early in Dean Duckworth’s régime a strict revision in the attire of men students was effected. In the past there had been a tendency to disregard one of the “canons” of civilization and appear in Hall, Chapel, or lecture rooms wearing sweaters. In the future, “this will no longer be tolerated as the regulation forbids any cervical cover other than the linen collar, and the use of slippers in chapel, hall and lecture rooms will not be countenanced.”³⁸ About the same time Sunday afternoon chapels were abolished, but students were allowed credits if they attended evening service in churches in the city.

³⁶ *The Review*, March 1903.

³⁷ Reminiscences of Sinclair M. Adams, ’13, Lecturer in Classics 1919-23, Professor of Greek since 1923, and College Librarian since 1927.

³⁸ *The Review*, February 1904.

The Literary Society waxed and waned according to the ability and number of its members. The inter-college debates and the inter-year discussions were of value in training the first- and second-year men to think and speak on their feet. But the annual Conversazione was always the high social light of the year, when the undergraduates and their guests to the number of five hundred enjoyed the dances in Convocation Hall. Welcome improvements in 1904 were the lighting of the Hall by electricity in place of gas, and the new hardwood floor which added to the pleasure of the dancers.

Students of those days dwell with affection on what they call the "golden days" of College life. One, an eminent physician, speaks of the value of the Arts course as a preparation for the study of medicine, of the advantage of life in residence, and how the lectures of Dr. William Clark, Professors Michael Mackenzie and "Archie" Young embraced a philosophy which was not concerned with the mere passing of examinations in the subjects they taught. Another student of those days, now an Archbishop, writes enthusiastically of his life in the old College and claims that the view of Dr. Johnson, that no one can conceive of the happiness of London except those who have been in it, is equally true of Trinity.

Convocation Day at Old Trinity was the students' day. Here, in full face of an august gathering, convened each year to witness graduation ceremonies, amid ribald remarks and raucous music the mighty were pulled down from their seats and those of low degree exalted. The "gallery" was no respecter of persons. On one occasion the freshmen were solemnly ushered in by an important-looking senior, who instructed them to sit on the dais, reserved for the dons, and the head of the first year to take the Chancellor's chair.

Probably the one best remembered was the last Convocation, in faculties other than Divinity, held on Michaelmas Day 1904 on the eve of entrance into Federation in October

of that year. A former student thus tells the story.³⁹ Convocation Hall was heavily draped in black, unrelieved by the traditional red. In this way the undergraduates chose to show their mourning for the passing of the old order, if not for the advent of the new. The entry of the dignitaries was delayed by an unexpected innovation. It is not known when the custom began but for some years song-sheets had been prepared and distributed beforehand among the student body. The song committee consisted usually of a member from each year, but on this occasion the junior member, a mere "worm," saw little of his confrères and heard less. So to honour this special event he gathered, amended, and added to the perfected work of his predecessors in former years, pasted his collection into a dummy, and visited a sympathetic printer. Presently, the newly printed sheets in red and black appeared, all glorious in stiff covers with the College crest and tied with red cord. The songs, including *Met' Agona*, were there in legible type. As for the cost, the "worm" knew it not and cared less.

Shortly before three o'clock on the day of Convocation there suddenly appeared, from the east side, or Porter's Lodge, three students bearing tables; from the west came three others similarly equipped. On each table lay a pile of the song-books with a saucer alongside, demurely signifying that a cash donation would not be unacceptable. The "worm" had turned, for no permission had been asked of Provost or Dean or anyone else in authority. Quickly "their dignities" in parade formation noted the turn in events. The foremost ranks struggled to reach beneath their cumbersome robes the cash pockets thereby concealed. Those following did the same and the general forward movement was much retarded. So slow was the procession in starting, and so slowly was each buyer provided with his copy that it was

³⁹Maurice Bruce McCausland, class of '06, he being the "worm" herein referred to.

only natural for the dons and dignitaries to fall into step with the strains which could now be heard issuing from the gallery. Up aloft various parts of a portable organ had been carried under gowns and reassembled. Howard Coulter, '05, struck the opening chords of the *Dead March in Saul* and the parade moved slowly toward the dais.

There was so much disturbance from the gallery that, at one point, it seemed that Convocation must be dissolved. The situation was saved by the quick thinking of the Provost, who broke all previous traditions by presenting the women for their degrees before the men on account of their position near the dais at the front of the hall. Few in the audience realized how quickly disaster had thus been averted.

The first "Commencement" under Federation was held in the University gymnasium on a day of suffocating warmth. The accommodation was quite inadequate and the thirty-seven prospective Bachelors and seven Masters of Arts from Trinity were obliged to stand throughout, no special provision having been made for them. This prompted *The Review* to remark: "It used to be esteemed an honour to kneel and shake the 'Tiger's Paw,' but under present conditions this is impossible."

The loss by drowning in Humber Bay on Palm Sunday, the seventh of April 1906, of two brilliant members of the final year, Asheleigh Crofton Moorhouse and William Walker Hart, cast a gloom over the College for some time. A beautiful and impressive memorial service was held on the last Sunday in term, and subsequently their fellow students and the staff erected a memorial tablet on the north wall of the College Chapel, with the appropriate inscription (in Latin), "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided." A substantial sum was also subscribed and vested in the Corporation for the establishment of a Hart-Moorhouse scholarship in Classics (or in English and History with the Classical option) to be awarded

in the second year, in memory of these two, students in honour Classics at the time of their death.

Among new societies formed about this time were clubs for the practice of conversational German and French. Under the direction of Professor A. H. Young, the Deutscher Klatsch Club, unique in that it had neither constitution, officers, nor fees, met once a week during term to attain proficiency in conversation in the German language. Highly successful in its object, and well attended, it flourished until the outbreak of the First World War. A similar club, Le Cercle Français, was formed by Dr. J. W. G. Andras, Lecturer in French, and was equally well attended. Meetings were held in Mr. Harry Griffith's comfortable rooms in Trinity House (commonly known as the "Jag") every Wednesday evening, where French songs on the gramophone (and from vocal members) helped to enliven the proceedings.

The year 1907 is memorable for the coming of two men who have definitely left their impress on the life of the College, the Reverend J. B. Fotheringham, Lecturer in Old Testament and Homiletics, and interested in all phases of student life until his retirement last year; and the Reverend F. H. Cosgrave, B.D., a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who came as Lecturer in Hebrew and afterwards was Professor in the same subject, Dean of Divinity, and Provost from 1926 to 1945. Throughout those thirty-eight years he took a deep interest in the life of the College and, more than any former Provost, showed a sympathetic consideration for many of the problems of the undergraduates. One of them recalls with gratitude his teaching, and mentions the following incident. It concerned a small class of theological students who inhabited the north end of the Divinity corridor and who were seeking a name for their group. Reading Hebrew with Professor Cosgrave one day, they were puzzled by a certain phrase, which he clarified by translating it thus: "certain worthless fellows, sons of Belial." The title, "Sons of Belial,"

was immediately adopted by the group which was thus known to the end of the course. The "fellows" in question were the Right Reverend John Dixon, now Lord Bishop of Montreal; the late Reverend Charles Paterson-Smyth, of Prescott; the Reverend R. S. Tippett, later a master at Trinity College School; and the author of the story, the Venerable W. G. O. Thompson, '10, of Georgetown, incidentally a writer of beautiful verse.

The year 1914 marked the end of an era, an era that was to be always remembered by the outbreak of the First World War. But before that catastrophe, which was to alter the way of life in many respects, broke upon us, a don of the College took stock, so to speak, of the situation at Trinity, at the end of this, the first decade under Federation.

Class lists show that from year to year our undergraduates can do and are doing work equal, in some cases superior, to that of their fellows. In debates and in sports—especially hockey, basketball and tennis—both Trinity and St. Hilda's have displayed their ability. In other sports—football, boxing and running—the men have brought honour to the College and some have found a place on the Varsity teams. Trinity students have played an increasingly larger part in the Undergraduate Parliament and its successor the Students' Administrative Council which now controls undergraduate affairs in the widest sense. A Trinity man is editor-in-chief of *The Varsity* and *The Arbor*, making both publications a credit to the University; the University and College are now working together, as the children of the same founder ought to do, for the up-building of Canada. We have undoubtedly received much and may look forward to still greater things and we must see that the golden age does not lie behind us but before.⁴⁰

A vote of the student body taken at that time, however, would have been solidly against Federation and would have undone all the years of Dr. Macklem's work to bring it about. Those students who then had to go to the University of Toronto for some of their subjects found the long walk or journey by street-car equally tedious, to say nothing of the

⁴⁰Professor A. H. Young, in *The Review*, June 1914.

waste of valuable time involved. Some graduates of thirty and forty years ago speak of the feeling of "getting home to Trinity" after a science lecture or a long afternoon lab. at Queen's Park. The smaller classes at Trinity, the living in residence, and the very close personal contacts with the teaching staff resulted in an influence and friendship which extended far beyond the lecture room. These were the days when Trinity—the real Trinity—was still in splendid isolation, guarding its traditions and its integrity.

But the other side of the balance sheet cannot be ignored. A comparison of the staff of eight in 1900-1 (Dr. Macklem's first year) with that of eighteen, plus six special lecturers, in 1914, and the corresponding increase in attendance, would be sufficient argument in favour of the fourth Provost's administration.

In the same year, 1914, a new office was created, that of Dean of Arts, to which Professor Duckworth, for eleven years previously Dean of Residence, was appointed. He was succeeded in the latter office for the next eight years by Professor A. H. Young, affectionately known to successive generations of students as "Archie." As father confessor and adviser in whom every student found a friend, he kept a close check on all students in College and followed their careers with interest throughout the after years. Graduates the world over will remember his "Convocation Notes" in every issue of *The Review*, sometimes covering several pages with information about Trinity graduates. Nothing quite so good or so comprehensive has appeared since his day.

A Head of College who exercised remarkable authority and control over the students at this time was John Harkness Dixon, '10, B.D. '14, an able student and hockey player, but mild-mannered and soft-spoken withal. Indeed, so great was his moral ascendancy, and so widespread the respect for his scholastic record, that he could quell a disturbance with a few quiet words. He was consecrated Bishop of Montreal in

1943. The same period produced several other conspicuous leaders and scholars, notably James Bertram Collip, '12, C.B.E., F.R.C.S., internationally renowned for his brilliant scientific discoveries and now Dean of Medicine at the University of Western Ontario; David A. Keys, '14, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.C., the Vice-President of the National Research Council in charge of the Atomic Energy Project at Chalk River; John G. Althouse, '12, D.Paed., LL.D., for many years headmaster of the University of Toronto Schools and, since 1944, Director of Education for the Province of Ontario; Richard C. Berkinshaw, '13, C.B.E., industrialist and director of many companies; the Reverend A. Harding Priest, '12, D.D., now General Secretary of the Board of Religious Education; the Reverend Roland F. Palmer, D.D., well known as a missioner and as Superior of the Order of St. John the Evangelist at Bracebridge, Ontario; the Most Reverend George Frederick Kingston, '13, Professor of Ethics and Dean of Residence at Trinity College and, successively, Bishop of Algoma 1940, Bishop of Nova Scotia 1944, Archbishop and Primate 1947-50.

Then came the war, and for four years the College faced problems unexpected and unprecedented. Almost immediately there were enlistments, singly and in small groups at first, and hardly perceptible. The teaching work went on as usual, except that classes were suspended after four o'clock to enable members of the staff and undergraduates to obtain military instruction either in the Officers' Training Corps or in other army units. As the seriousness of the war increased so did enlistments with a relative decrease in attendance and enrolment. Trinity House and part of the College building were given up for war uses and the playing fields for drill. Study became a serious matter. Those who remained in College were either waiting to be called by the military authorities, or completing their studies at the request of the University. All this has been referred to in other chapters in

this volume⁴¹ and in still greater detail in the *War Memorial Volume of Trinity College*.

The last year in the old College, 1924-25, was one long remembered by those in residence at that time. The men began to realize that they would miss the building and its traditions. Even the dingy walls and the long gloomy corridors took on a sentimental aspect when it was realized that the days of occupation were numbered. When compared with the advantages of the new building the many discomforts of the old must have been even more obvious: draughty halls, flickering gas jets for lighting, the bedroom sometimes a mere alcove opening off the study (the "coffin" it was called), the whole apartment inadequately heated by an open fire-place with coal charged to the students' account. And yet all were loth to leave the old place, full of the cherished memories of three-quarters of a century. A student of the class of 1920 recalls many of these.

I remember on first coming up to Trinity meeting the Provost, the Reverend T. C. S. Macklem, whose initials I had no trouble in remembering because they stood for Trinity College School, whose first building at Weston I was later to inhabit. It was Saturday at supper time so I dined in Hall in what were to me surroundings made rather familiar by pictures I had seen of dining halls at Oxford and Cambridge. There were noticeable discrepancies; but what reality lacked, imagination and hope filled in.

Later I was given the key to my room in the west wing, which I had previously selected because it gave me a fine view of the western sky and no end of beautiful sunsets. Professor ("Archie" for short) Young, then Dean of Residence, gave me his blessing, with one of his slow, quizzical smiles, and I took possession. Rooms in those days were furnished on the spartan plan. The student, as I remember, brought his own bedding, pictures, books, and odds and ends of impedimenta. The College furnished a table, a baize-covered box for cannel coal for the fireplace, a chair or two, if the previous occupant hadn't been too generous to friends, and a piece of tin, convexed, with handle, to fit over the open fireplace and so create a draft.

⁴¹Chapters vii and xi.

A HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

In those days attendance at morning chapel was compulsory, and every one turned out, dons and students, unless one had an excuse that would pass muster with the Dean. John Hall, the porter, stood at the entrance to the chapel with pencil poised over virgin sheet to mark each man present as he entered, and a student going in after the bell had rung took the chance of being marked late. Little time was taken to dress, so that, it is rumoured, more than once the academic gown served as a mantle of charity to conceal pyjamas and sockless feet encased in worn slippers.

How lovely was the springtime from the doorway of old Trinity when noises and stir of traffic on Queen Street at the foot of the elm-covered walk were borne muted on the soft twilight breeze as evening dusk closed in and street lamps fluttered in the distant street. Sweet familiar scents lingered in the air and as darkness came the chapel bell called to prayer.

Spring brings to mind also meetings of *The Review* staff in "Archie's" rooms when W. S. Watson, Gordon Boggs, Bob Hays, Errick Willis, Harold Orr, Arnold Hoath, Charlie Phillips, Haldane Gee, and others would drink coffee brought in by the gyp, smoke cigarettes and talk. And reclining in his study chair, with a cup of coffee which he slowly stirred, was the benign figure of Archie Young, his gently smiling features a reflection of the good humour within. Among the delectable dishes I recall were strawberries and cream in June, at the final meeting of the year. (The memory is pleasant even if Archie did slightly dilute it by leaving a little tract under one's door to the effect that "the Dean of Residence wishes to remind Mr. C. that he is five behind in his chapel count.")⁴²

Graduates who lived in the old College will have memories revived by the mere mention of Paradise Alley, Wall Street, and Angel's Roost as the lower, middle, and upper corridors of the east wing were called. There were also the upper and lower Western, the "catacombs," and Brewery Lane. Wall Street derived its name from plutocratic inhabitants, many of whom were always ready to help the impecunious student in times of stress.

Then there were the College porters, who played a most important part in the life of Trinity and who generally knew

⁴²W. G. Colgate, '20.

more of that inner life than either the Provost or Dean. Many are the stories that might be told had certain incidents been recorded. One porter, Phelps by name, in the eighties wielded an authority and regarded his position as only a little lower than the dons. George Herbert Broughall, '83, recalled an incident. A young graduate, seeking funds for his church and knowing his man, approached Phelps for a subscription. On being told, in answer to his inquiry, that the *other* dons had given five dollars, Phelps said grandly: "Then I will give five dollars too." M. Bruce McCausland, '06, remembered the porter in his day, Townsend, who had dignity without pomposity and prided himself on his learning, some of which he had gleaned from books left by students in the Lodge. "It seems a 'worm'-to-be, newly in from the back townships, commandingly ordered, 'And, porter, take these trunks of mine up to Room 23.' 'Sir,' replied the astonished and belittled Townsend, calmly but cuttingly, 'I would have you know that my title is derived from *porta*, a door—not *porto*, I carry.'" Townsend was succeeded by John Hall, who flourished for nearly twenty years, retiring in 1922. He was an English servant of the old school, and deplored the introduction of any new-fangled ideas; the good old days were good enough for him. The telephone switch-board was his pet abomination—he could never master it or its intricacies. He was succeeded in 1923 by Robert G. Robinson, a veteran of the First World War, who has seen both the old and the new. With Professor Lloyd Hodgins, then Dean of Residence, he packed the books of the Library for removal to the new building in the summer of 1925: twelve hundred cartons and twenty-two packing cases.

Many a tale of the old days could Bob tell: how a barber's pole from down town was placed outside the Provost's room; how the three brass balls from a York Street pawnshop appeared over the door of the Bursar's office; how a rope was added to the Chapel bell so that near-by residents were

awakened in the middle of the night; how the birds and the deer were taken from the glass cases in the main hall and given an airing on Queen Street (this last was an annual affair). He could tell stories of bottle-rolls on the hardwood floors of the west wing, and many another escapade. Some day, it is hoped, he will write his memoirs; he has already done so in part, and absorbing reading they are.⁴³

Robert, or Bob the Porter as he was known to all, retired in 1949 after having served under four Provosts. In his twenty-eight years in College (he came on the staff on Founder's Day 1921) he had taken a keen interest in all phases of University life, academic, athletic, and social and will long be remembered by generations of graduates.

Anecdotes of dons abound. One relates to Professor R. E. L. Kittredge who taught French now and then to unreceptive students. The text was *L'Eté de Saint-Martin*. "Rappelez votre chat, recall your cat," translated the literal-minded freshman. "One moment," came the acid correction from "Kitty," "You *recall* an ambassador, but you *call* a cat." It is comforting to know that the distinction so drawn was not lost.

Then there are stories of Canon Rollo, a canny Scot and much beloved. During a total eclipse of the sun someone inquired "Where is Rollo?" Kittredge replied, "Oh! he has gone down town to send a night letter." But the Canon had a quick repartee as well as ready wit. When Professor Kittredge asked him if the increased rate in car fares hurt him he said, "Oh, not at all, now I have to walk only four times, instead of six, to save a quarter!"

On the twenty-seventh of March 1925, the Scribe of Episkopon read the venerable Father's farewell message, exhorting his children to hold fast to the tradition of the old College while moving to the new. He announced that he was leaving the tower he had occupied for so many years to take

⁴³The Review, January 1946 and August 1947.

up his abode in the lantern tower of the new Trinity. The assemblage then adjourned to the driveway, the bell tolling a warning that the Father was about to depart. A light in the tower was extinguished and His Venerability slowly descended carrying his lantern. A few minutes later the wizened old man appeared at the front door accompanied by a band of his Scribes carrying torches. To the tune of his own song "The Order of the Golden Key" the little procession moved down the terrace where a quaint old carriage was waiting. Taking his seat, accompanied by the last scribe of the old régime and the first of the new, Father Episkopon drove away into the night on his journey to the new building in Queen's Park.⁴⁴

The life of the old College transferred to the new surroundings in the University precincts went on with little interruption. The homelike atmosphere of the old building was missed, of course, and the temporary residence for men in a converted, but comparatively modern, apartment house meant a break with many cherished links with the past. On the other hand, the students in the new surroundings enjoyed academic advantages supplied by a large University equipped with extensive buildings, modern laboratories, a large library, and a well-equipped gymnasium and students' union in Hart House with all its amenities and privileges. At the same time there were retained the intimate associations between faculty and undergraduates characteristic of a small college.

Student organizations such as the Literary Institute and the annual visit of Father Episkopon, both dating back to the beginnings of the College, and *The Review* continued with renewed vigour; the Athletic Association found greater scope in the closer relationship with sister Colleges and faculties; the Dramatic Society, revived in 1920 by H. B. Scudamore, A. L. Ambrose, and Professor Kittredge and their

"The Reverend H. N. Taylor, '26, in *The Review*, Farewell number, 1925.

associates and directed by Gordon Sparling, went on to greater things thanks to the admirable facilities of Hart House Theatre.

An important feature of student life has been the growing interest in music in recent years. This has been encouraged by the use of Strachan Hall for Sunday evening concerts, begun by Provost Cosgrave in 1941-42, with a committee of members of the staff and undergraduates. In all, a series of eight concerts are given during the session.⁴⁵

Four years ago Provost Seeley proposed the organization of a Choral Society to study and perform English music with Mr. Eric Rollinson as conductor. At the closing concert each year the Society presents a programme which includes a cantata, Elizabethan madrigals, and folk-songs. Its progress has been so successful that the Choral Society provided all the music for the impressive Centenary service in St. James' Cathedral on the thirteenth of January 1952, the Sunday before Founder's Day.

Trinity students took their places by election on important executive bodies, such as the Students' Administrative Council, the Athletic Directorate, *The Varsity*, and the Board of Stewards of Hart House and its subsidiary committees. The training ground of our own Literary Institute developed effective speakers who were frequently heard in the inter-collegiate and Hart House Debates.

The great increase in student activities due to the larger number of non-residents created, in a few years, a situation new to the College. Until 1935 all matters concerning the male students had been dealt with by an assembly of the whole student body known as the College Meeting, which was quite adequate in the days when the total registration did not exceed one hundred. In the autumn of 1935 a new undergraduate executive body was created for the general administration of College affairs, styled the Board of Stewards.

⁴⁵See chapter VIII, p. 173.

The Board, as organized, was composed of the Dean of Residence; the Head of College; the Trinity representative to the Students' Administrative Council of the University; a representative from the Literary Institute, from the Athletic Association, and from the residents and non-residents of each of the three senior years; eleven in all. This Board reports at stated times to the College Meeting, thus giving students interested the opportunity of discussing problems with which the Board is faced. The Board has proved to be of inestimable value by the close attention it gives to all matters affecting student life in the College. It acts, in a sense, as the liaison between the College Committee on Administration and the student body at large, in the interest of conserving the best features of the College.

Before closing this review of student life it would seem well, even at the risk of repetition, to refer to the immense advantages enjoyed by the student body from the additions to the College building in recent years. Both ventures were made at times which seemed unpropitious from a financial standpoint, and yet were most necessary if the College was to fulfil its obligations to the student body. Results have fully justified the faith of their promoters and the generosity of the many benefactors who made these possible. The erection of St. Hilda's College on Devonshire Place in 1938 during a period of financial depression provided a modern building for women students which solved many of their problems and difficulties. Then in the early war years 1940 and 1941 the men's residences and Strachan Hall were erected providing adequate and comfortable accommodation for the men students and a dining hall, noted for its architectural beauty. By the erection of this hall a lasting memorial to the illustrious Founder of Trinity has been established within the College.

TRINITY IN ATHLETICS

ROM the very beginning athletic competition has been prominent in the life of the College. As soon as the early days of spring succeeded the first winter, the little band of students organized the Trinity College Cricket Club, which came into being on the second of May 1852. The prime mover in this was Thomas Dowell Phillipps, '55, a matriculant from Upper Canada College and a cricketer of great renown even down to his later days. From his reminiscences we learn that the first president and captain was the Reverend Edward St. John Parry, a Balliol man, the first Professor of Classics, an outstanding bowler and a playing member of the team until this was forbidden by the Bishop as not in keeping with clerical dignity. Among other players were Abraham J. Broughall, '55, D.D. (*honoris causa*) '04; C. J. S. Bethune, '59, D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '83; James J. Bogert, '55, D.C.L. (*honoris causa*) '02, sometime Archdeacon of Ottawa; James Edwin O'Reilly, '55, later Mayor of Hamilton and Master in Chancery; Charles E. Thomson, '54, a future rector of Carleton; Charles Walker Robinson, '55, son of the first Chancellor, who followed a military career and retired a C.B. and a Major-General; and Huson W. M. Murray, '55, eminent lawyer and King's Counsel. These are mentioned to show the good stuff of which our first students were made. There were no eligibility rules in those days; the game was the thing and men played for the love of it. John Helliwell of King's College, Toronto, affiliated with Trinity (B.A. *ad eundem* '53)

in order to play with the College. George Anthony Barber, the father of Canadian cricket, and until his death in 1874 "the highest living local authority on cricket,"¹ sent his son, George Anthony the second, to teach and coach the young idea, and with this material as a basis there was evolved a team that was able to meet the powerful Toronto Cricket Club on almost equal terms. Encouragement was given by Dr. Alexander Burnside, who donated for a playing field several acres of his property adjoining the College grounds on the west, by the College authorities, and by Mr. George W. Allan (a future Chancellor) who generously gave the money to put the cricket field in shape. "I can see more distinctly than a picture our first Chancellor [Sir John Beverley Robinson], as he stood on the steps of the front entrance with other dignitaries, awaiting our return with news of our second victory on the old Caer Howell grounds."²

In those days the Toronto Cricket Club was Trinity's chief competitor, a challenge from an eleven from the University of Toronto being "interdicted" by the Trinity authorities. However, the ban was lifted later, and other matches were played with Trinity College School (then at Weston, and later at Port Hope), Upper Canada College, and clubs formed from British regiments stationed at the Old and New Forts, the 17th and the 29th Regiments, the Royal Artillery, and the 13th Hussars. Sometimes Trinity players, notably J. J., '55 and David F. Bogert, '63, Fred Bethune, '64, and T. S. Kennedy, '64, were taken to strengthen the Toronto Club in important matches.

To Mr. Phillipps further tribute must be paid. He saw the laying of the corner-stone on the thirtieth of April 1851 and, as Head of College, read the Latin congratulatory ode at the installation of the first Chancellor, Sir John Beverley Robinson, on the third of June 1853. He was ordained by Bishop

¹Henry Scadding: *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873), pp. 111 and 170.

²The *Review*, December 1902, reminiscences of the Reverend T. D. Phillipps, '55.

Strachan in 1858 but for a time followed the teaching profession, first in Paris, Ontario, where he was principal of the High School, and afterwards at Ottawa, St. Catharines, and in schools in the United States. His cricket career of more than fifty-seven years included many matches where he was credited with high scores, some of them "centuries." His final words, in his contribution to *The Review* at the time of the Jubilee were: "Though in my seventieth year I yet hope to see—perhaps participate in—one more cricket match on a field whereon it may be said without undue boasting, *militavi non sine gloria.*"

In the pages of a book published nearly sixty years ago, the Trinity College Cricket Club appears frequently from 1855 onward.³ From this work the Reverend Herbert O. Tremayne, '86, gave an interesting résumé in the Jubilee number of *The Review* in 1902. In 1887, W. W. Jones, a nephew of the Dean, and A. C. Allan, a son of the Chancellor, were members of the Canadian eleven chosen to tour England, and made a good showing, Allan scoring 113 runs at Lord's. This shows that from the beginning Trinity ranked high in the game, the Club's success being largely due to the players coming up from the schools where cricket was regularly played. The nineties also saw some fine cricket. In 1892, thirteen matches were played with such clubs as Toronto Rosedale, Varsity, Upper Canada College, and Hamilton, of which eight were victories. In one year, 1896, Trinity had ten men on the International eleven. Among prominent College players were D'Arcy R. C. Martin, '89, H. H. Bedford-Jones, '89, J. S. Broughall, '87, D. L. McCarthy, '92, G. H. P. Grout, '90, L. W. B. Broughall, '97, W. H. Cooper, H. S. Southam, '96, W. R. Wadsworth, '94, E. S. Senkler, '97, and Charles J. H. Mockridge, '95. To these must be added Gerard B. Strathy, '00, W. H. White, '90 and staff 1894-99, A. D. Armour, '92, and Herbert C. Simpson, at this

³John E. Hall and Robert O. McCulloch: *Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket, 1834-1894* (Toronto, 1895).

period a junior member of the teaching staff. A summary of matches with the University of Toronto from 1873 to 1902 shows that of twenty-four games played Trinity won sixteen, Toronto five, and three were drawn.

Cricket reached its supremacy as *the* College game in the nineties and early 1900's. For the Jubilee year, 1902, a good schedule was arranged but the results were disappointing. While the annual game with Toronto Varsity was a gratifying win for Trinity by ten wickets, the traditional twenty-fourth of May fixture, with the Toronto Cricket Club, was a disappointing defeat.

For a time after Federation there were a sufficient number of enthusiastic students, together with graduates living in Toronto, to make a fair showing, but it soon became evident that the shorter term, with examinations ending before the twenty-fourth of May instead of the end of June, was having a detrimental effect. Students were not willing or could not afford to remain in College once the examinations were over, and appeals to the College authorities to assist in financing the expense fell on deaf ears. In 1905, ten games were arranged for the months of May and June. It was a most successful season with Carl de Fallot, Leycester Ingles, and Hamilton Mockridge among the prominent players. But the next year and in 1907 the results were disappointing, leading *The Review* to remark that it was a pity that the one game in which Trinity formerly excelled should develop into a mere farce. In 1909 seven matches were played of which Trinity won two. In the following year, under the captaincy of George Whitaker Morley, '10, a series of fifteen matches was arranged with visits to London, Brantford, Guelph, and Paris but with eight losses, three games drawn, and only four victories.

There was a fairly successful revival under Craufurd Martin in 1914,⁴ when fourteen matches were arranged of

⁴Charles Kirwan Craufurd Martin, class of 1916, D.S.O., O.B.E., K.C., a worthy son of a worthy father (Edward Kirwan Counsell Martin, '82) who, until his untimely death in the summer of 1950, maintained a close and active interest in College affairs as Chairman of Convocation, member of Corporation and the Executive Committee, etc., and was for many years an officer and playing member of the Toronto Cricket Club.

which Trinity won six and lost five. Three games were cancelled by reason of bad weather. In 1915, on account of the war and a further shortening of term in consequence, there was no cricket, nor was there again for the duration. A brave attempt to revive interest in the game in 1919 failed to overcome the handicap of the lack of suitable grounds, insufficient equipment, and the May examinations. The revival of the athletic-social event on the twenty-fourth of May (the annual match with the Toronto Club) resulted in a crushing defeat, the score standing at Toronto 151, Trinity 55. The following year sounded the death knell of cricket. Only one game was played, with Trinity College School at Port Hope on the twenty-third of May. Many players had left College, and the score was T.C.S. 72, Trinity College 30. A significant paragraph appears in the *Trinity University Year Book* for 1924-25, "Baseball has taken the place of cricket as a spring pastime."

With the removal to Queen's Park in the summer of 1925 all hope of reviving the "gentleman's game" was ended. The University of Toronto Cricket Club, founded in 1869, had disbanded about 1906, but University students were granted honorary membership in the Toronto Cricket Club as long as the Club played on University grounds. In 1926 the Toronto Cricket Club moved to Armour Heights.

Cricket, then, was the foundation of all our athletics. At the outset there was no gymnasium, baseball had not been invented, there was no tennis, no hockey, no football, nothing indeed but cricket. Major Goodwin of the Queen's Own Rifles, and a Crimean veteran, gave instruction in fencing and single-stick to those who desired it. Some studied the "manly art of self-defence" under the tuition of Charles Givins, '63, an adept with the gloves.

A graduate of those days⁵ speaks of the steeplechase, "old

⁵David F. Bogert, '63, in *The Review*, December 1902.

as Episkopon," as originating in his time, the wide-open fields to the north of the College offering natural facilities for cross-country running. The race was run over a rugged course of a mile and a quarter, where hill and stream and many an inconvenient fence had to be surmounted.⁶ By the late sixties, a definite one-mile course was followed, down the Garrison Creek ravine from north of Bloor Street to the finish line east of the College. For three years of his College course, a record (five minutes, fifteen seconds) was made and maintained by Edward F. Milburn, '69, who had come up from Trinity College School at Weston. Milburn, besides being fleet of foot, was a fine cricketer, an all-round athlete, and the winner of the prize for rifle shooting.⁷ In 1883, George H. Broughall, '83, and N. Ferrar Davidson, '84, appear as winners, surnames to be found again in succeeding generations of Trinity students. In 1893 the course is described as one and a fifth miles from the head of the Garrison Creek ravine to the finish at the College Chapel, "a splendid course with many obstructions, hills, fences and creeks, and one climb fifty feet high."⁸ Wadsworth, Chadwick, and Heaven finished in that order, but failed to break the record of five minutes, forty-eight seconds made in 1892 by Hubert Carleton, '93.

Football was not played at first. It was difficult to organize a team from the small enrolment in those early days and few men were willing to engage in the rough-and-tumble game as then played. F. Barlow Cumberland, '67, son of the well-known architect, Frederick William Cumberland, who attended Cheltenham College in England before entering Trinity in 1864, recalled that Trinity students were then playing a form of football in which the only object of the game was to get the ball between two short sticks or two

⁶*Rouge et Noir*, October 1882.

⁷Sometime headmaster of Belleville High School.

⁸Reminiscences of the Reverend Canon F. A. P. Chadwick, '93.

piles of coats which did duty for goalposts. There was no rule as to "off-side," there were no definite boundaries, no touchdowns, no restrictions on the number of players; there was a "scrum," of course, but the one object was to reach the opponents' goal and score a "try." In spite of its crudities, Cumberland realized that the game had possibilities and with his knowledge of the English game and the assistance of Fred A. Bethune, '64, a Divinity student and later a master at Trinity College School, formulated the first code of rules for rugby football ever put out in Canada. Thus, he claimed, "Trinity was the mother of rugby football in Canada."⁹

According to Canon Jarvis, '71, the relationship between the Universities must have improved, for in his final year a challenge was received from the University College Football Club, which having gone through the season without a loss could not honestly claim the championship without defeating all comers. In fact, it is said, Varsity had a standing advertisement in the *Globe* inviting other clubs to try conclusions with them. But let the worthy Canon tell the story in his own words.¹⁰

We told them we had no club to speak of but would be glad to have them as our guests at the College and would go through the form of playing a friendly match with them in conformity with our official answer to their challenge. We had two or three good men, John Bethune Abbott, of Montreal, afterwards Curator of the Art Museum of Montreal [son of Sir J. J. C. Abbott, Prime Minister of Canada 1891-2], "Doons" Young, James White, '71, and C. J. Logan, '74. I don't

⁹The *Review*, January 1889. See also *University of Toronto Year Book*, 1887: "The University College Football Club adopted the English Rugby rules in 1877. For nearly twenty years before that the only game played there was the 'old University game,' in which hacking, tripping and charging from behind were prominent features, and, although carrying the ball was forbidden, players might bounce it along with the hand. No other club played their game and consequently, no matches could be arranged with teams outside the University."

¹⁰Canon Arthur Jarvis, '71, from his manuscript "Reminiscences" in the possession of his daughter, Miss Julia Jarvis, of the University of Toronto Library.

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remember any one else who professed to know more about the game than that it was played with a large ball which you were expected to kick furiously when you got the chance, and mainly in the direction of the enemy's goal if you could remember where it was.

Both Young and Abbott declined the honour of being captain so, as I was one of the senior men and had urged them to accept the challenge, it was up to me to get the fellows together to make some show of practice before we met the enemy. A few of the freshmen turned out to be not half-bad players, so our spirits began to rise and we were resolved to sell our chances of victory as dearly as we could.

On the evening before the game we had a council of war and decided that our only chance was to adopt a bold and reckless policy from the start. Their scientific stunts would be sure to wear us down eventually, but if we pushed them for all we were worth we might get a goal by a lucky chance and thus lessen the ignominy of defeat.

Next day the enemy arrived in good time; we welcomed them cordially, had them up to our rooms and to lunch and the whole College was thrown open to them. The Dean [the Reverend John Ambery, M.A. Oxon., Dean of Residence 1863-1875]¹¹ was made aware of our plans and entered into them in the most fascinating way; it was really beautiful to see his solicitude for the comfort and refreshment of the gentlemen from the sister University. Meanwhile he assisted in filling the beggars with College beer. Then we jollied them along until they began to think that we had been quite misrepresented to them as an unsociable lot of divinity students. (It was the game of her foes to spread the impression abroad that Trinity was merely a second-class divinity school whereas, as we all know, she was a University with an Imperial Charter, with power to grant degrees which were recognized all over the Empire.)

After awhile, when we had got our foes into a state of uproarious good-humour, we proposed that it was time to adjourn to the field. When we lined up and I glanced at the two teams, I could not help thinking of David and Goliath. They had a husky lot of fellows, who were in good training; one of our men, Herbert Patton, '74 (afterwards a portly rural dean and canon) was then a puny, pale but plucky freshman.¹² I trembled when I saw him looking up at the mass of brawn that played against him. We won the toss and chose the goal

¹¹F. Barlow Cumberland, '67, in *The Review*, January 1889, speaks of "John Ambery, the portly dean, with fat round front and gown tucked up behind, pacing the flower-decked terrace."

¹²Reverend Canon Herbert Bethune Patton, '74, M.A., Rector of Prescott.

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that brought the sun into our enemies' eyes and started in from the kick-off to rush things madly. Before five minutes were up, by some unaccountable streak of luck, Abbott got a chance and took it, sending the ball home without a shadow of doubt as to the cleanness of the shot. Somehow or other we managed to get two more lucky flukes, and so we found we had won the match by a sort of miracle and were the champions of amateur football in Ontario! Varsity was furious and their captain blamed them all for filling themselves up with food and beer when in training and just before a match! We did what we could to console them but they refused to be comforted and left us in anything but an amiable spirit.

But that is not the end of the story, not by any means. In a few days we received a challenge for a return match. Of course, we had to defend our championship, and very reluctantly sent back our acceptance. But there was little spirit left in us, and I could not get the team to practice; it was marvellous what a passion for reading for exams had taken possession of even the least studious. To cap it all one of our best men found he could not break an engagement and we had to take on a freshman named Wood.¹³ He saved the day for us but at a heavy cost to himself.

When we arrived on the Varsity field we were faced by an angry and sullen crowd and we knew what we were up against. There wasn't much pretence at good-fellowship on either side; there was rough-house from the start, but we took our medicine and soon our men were panting and limping. At last Abbott managed to get one good kick and sent the ball flying down the field right to the spot where Wood stood trembling. Now was his one chance; here was an easy kick and a wide goal before him. He delivered a desperate kick but the ball went only a few feet and, as he was attempting it again, four or five of their fellows came galloping up and literally fell upon him, and down he went. When I got there I found that the hundreds of pounds of flesh that had pinned Wood down had snapped his tibia and fibula like a pipe-stem. We gave him first-aid, bundled him into a cab, and made for home. Of course any idea of finishing the game was given up—it was a draw! The Varsity chaps were very decent; and thus it was that a despised freshman saved the situation *and* the honour of Trinity with a broken leg. And that is the story of the Trinity Football Championship.

¹³The Reverend William Hugh Wood, '74, afterwards Vicar of Tamerton Foliot, Plymouth, England.

There are few other references to football in the reminiscences of early students. One graduate of the seventies said his fellows did not go in for it extensively; to their way of thinking it was a less dignified game than cricket, and, as played in those days, little more than rough-and-tumble in which the heavier team invariably won. A later graduate, who entered College in 1882 and during his student days played in thirteen matches against the University of Toronto, referred to the "maul-in-goal" as an undesirable feature of the game, which was later dropped to advantage.¹⁴ On the other hand he deplored the gradual Americanization of rugby, by the introduction of rules and plays from across the border, which was changing the character of the game and would, he said, "unhappily tend to professionalism rather than sport." A prophet not without honour! As an example of this invasion Walter Henry White, '90, tells us that Trinity had a comparatively strong team in 1894 thought able to meet Varsity on equal terms. Among the stalwarts were "Pack" Chadwick, '93,¹⁵ captain, Harry Southam, '96, star half-back, and A. U. de Pencier, '95, centre scrimmage. But "Biddy" Barr,¹⁶ the Varsity captain, recently from a preparatory school across the border, used an American "interference" hitherto unknown in Canada, and spoiled Trinity's fast running and passing plays to her ultimate defeat.

The smaller enrolment at Trinity meant fewer men to draw from and in the late nineties it was difficult for her to play on equal terms even with Varsity seconds, although in 1884 the senior team held Toronto Varsity to a draw and in 1886 beat them 19 to 0. But usually it was the reverse. In

¹⁴Edward Cartwright Cayley, '85, Div. '88, in *The Review*, June 1902. See also *The Prospector* by Ralph Connor (Charles W. Gordon, U.C. '83, and a Varsity player when an undergraduate), who there describes a Varsity-McGill game as played in the early eighties when the "maul-in-goal" was a feature.

¹⁵The Reverend Canon Frederick A. P. Chadwick.

¹⁶Adam Fordyce Barr, U.C. '96, famous Varsity player, captain and coach.

other words, it was the team of one small college trying to compete against a team made up from a group of several colleges. Although all freshmen at Trinity were required to turn out for football practice, competent and experienced players were in the minority. But there were those who, in season and out of season, always upheld the honour of the College; among them we find the well-remembered names of Ned Cayley, R. B. Beaumont, the Davidsons, J. C. and N. F., Fred Farncomb, Charles H. Brent, Charles and Crawford Scadding, R. J. Dumbrille, Herbert Tremayne, the Mockridges, and many others.

The students in the eighties confined their activities to football in the autumn, cricket and tennis in the summer. With adequate courts built in 1881 tennis became all important in College sports and rapidly increased in popularity. Again such familiar names as Brent, Scadding, Cayley, and the Davidsons appear frequently among the contestants. In 1886 the Trinity College Lawn Tennis Club was organized, with Michael A. Mackenzie, '87, as secretary. As yet there was no hockey. Baseball was played to some extent, but mostly as a means to an end, namely, for fielding practice for the cricket teams. One summer the players felt they were strong enough to challenge an Oakville baseball team, but found to their chagrin that Oakville had imported a "curved-ball" pitcher from the States, a type of player they had never faced, and their batters found it impossible to "connect" with the ball.¹⁷

Boxing and wrestling and gymnastics were handicapped by the lack of a proper gymnasium. There was, it is true, a frame building which did duty for one, but it was little better than a barn. In early numbers of *Rouge et Noir* reference is made to this gymnasium as a mere out-building in a wretched state of repair which afforded a roosting place for fowls and a convenient place for the College menagerie. This

¹⁷Walter Henry White, '90, staff 1894-99.

included the College cows, which supplied milk for the Steward's department. The cows were frequently pastured on or near the playing fields, to the detriment of the cricket pitch. Complaining in one issue that the College was without winter amusements, the editor asserted: "A gymnasium is absolutely necessary. We have one badly out of repair, not even weather proof, nor heated, the windows broken and dirty, the floor in bad shape. There is little equipment—only [horizontal] bars, a trapeze and a ladder."¹⁸ Apparently the authorities were impervious to these pointed criticisms for, periodically, similar complaints recur, and expressions of the utter hopelessness of getting necessary repairs. It was not until the extension of the western wing in 1890 that any attempt was made to provide adequate accommodation for a players' dressing room with showers, lockers, and other accessories. This proved so satisfactory, that, when the eastern wing was added five years later, the basement was constructed to include a small gymnasium.

In the meantime, however, athletics were developing in other ways. Trinity was never more active or successful on the playing field than in the early nineties. The football teams of 1890, captained by Alexis Martin, '92; of 1891, by John F. E. Patterson, '92; and of 1892 by M. S. McCarthy, '93, did mighty things; the team of 1892 almost beat the invincible Varsity men. In 1893 Harry Southam, '96, one of a family of athletes, led the van, to be succeeded by "Pack" Chadwick in 1894. It was in that year that the team, travelling to Kingston, lost to Queen's but won from the Royal Military College. The cadets gave the visitors a royal time, and packed them off, a tired lot, on the Saturday midnight train in a rather battered condition for the Sunday duty some of them were taking.¹⁹

And here special mention must be made of one who was

¹⁸Rouge et Noir, 1880.

¹⁹Reverend H. B. Gwyn, '93, Div. '96, in *The Review*, March 1903.

largely responsible for Trinity's progress in athletics at that time, Alexis F. R. Martin. As captain of the football team of 1890 he saw the need of preliminary training to develop players for the senior team. To accomplish this he donated a cup for inter-year competition. Nothing has done more to promote the game in College than the Martin Cup for inter-year competition in rugby. Thus Trinity was in advance of Toronto where in 1894 the Mulock Cup was donated for interfaculty competition, with a view to providing material for the University teams. Moreover, Martin saw the need of a controlling body in athletics and in 1892 was instrumental in forming the Trinity University Athletic Association, a year before, be it noted, the organization of a similar body in the University of Toronto. In both Universities the object was the same, namely, to create a governing body which would co-ordinate and control all athletic activities. Prior to that time each club had its own management and gave little consideration to the others. Economy of expenditure was impossible, for the enthusiasts of one particular game supported that game to the exclusion of all others, the result being that one or two clubs prospered and others languished for lack of players and funds.

Out of this chaos and strife was formed the "Athletic," to control all sports and unite the interests of all clubs. The executive committee consisted of nine men, representative, as far as possible, of all sports. Naturally, the first President of the new organization was its promoter, Alexis F. R. Martin, '92; Charles W. Hedley, '92, Div. '92, was Vice-President; Maitland S. McCarthy, '93, Secretary; and James Chappell, '93, Div. '95, Treasurer. The five committee men elected were W. L. Baynes Reed, '95, Frank L. Vernon, '93, H. E. B. Robertson, '94, E. C. Wragge, and H. M. Nelles.

At first the treasurer was a graduate student, but later it was found desirable to have a don for this position, one who would also be a financial adviser and who, with a well-

CRICKET TEAM OF 1897

From left to right, standing: G. B. Stratby, T. C. Campbell, H. C. Simpson, Dean Rigby, R. H. Parmenter; seated: C. J. H. Mockridge, W. H. White, L. W. B. Broughall (*Captain*), W. H. T. Cooper, W. E. Dean; in front: Newbold Jones, H. C. Griffith. (*Courtesy of Dr. W. E. Dean*)



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO HARRIER TEAM 1913

Intercollegiate champions ("Five Men of Trinity")

Upper left, standing: A. Harding Priest (T) Manager; from left to right,
seated: I. T. Kennedy (T), R. A. Hendy (T), P. J. Dykes (T) Captain,
E. H. Campbell (Dental Faculty), R. A. Cluff (T)



B A S K E T B A L L T E A M 1 9 1 4

Sifton Cup Champions. Left to right: R. A. Hendy, H. G. Willis, T. A. Beasley, J. Hately (*Captain*), E. C. Bevan,
G. M. Matheson, V. O. Boyle P. J. Dykes (*Manager*)



HOCKEY TEAM 1921

Jennings Cup Champions. From left to right, back: A. B. Moore, R. H. L. Grew (*Manager*), E. B. Harsaw, E. A. Nanton; front: R. H. Bonnycastle, J. L. Johnson, J. R. Jones, H. R. Lawrence (*Captain*), A. S. Patterson, S. E. Harper



balanced budget and carefully controlled expenditure, would give consideration to the interests of all the athletic clubs. Among the treasurers over the years have been Dean Rigby, Professors H. C. Simpson, Harold V. Routh, F. H. Cosgrave, Lloyd C. A. Hodgins, S. M. Adams, and now, for many years, C. A. Ashley.

The coming to Trinity in 1891 of Professor Edward Wynn Huntingford, M.A. Oxon., and Professor Oswald Rigby, M.A. Cantab., had a stimulating and far-reaching effect on the athletic life of the College. Both were firm believers in the value of competitive sports. Professor Huntingford although rather eccentric was regarded by many as the greatest character in the College, and, next to Professor William Clark, the most brilliant. Certainly, to quote another don, no one more versatile was ever connected with Trinity. He could ride, row, run, and box, paint, write verse, sing, render first aid, set bones and sew cuts (*without anaesthetic*); he could organize a picnic, stage a play, train a choir (St. Margaret's),²⁰ deliver public lectures, and preach. A picturesque and privileged person, he was withal a thorough gentleman. "Hunty," as he was affectionately called by staff and students alike, had been a first-rate cross-country runner at Oxford and from the time of his arrival took his morning exercise over the hills and dales in the open country north of the College, accompanied by his faithful bull-dog Isaac. So alarmed were near-by residents on Crawford Street at this unprecedented exhibition the first morning after his arrival that fear was expressed that he might have been a "trusty" or a patient from an institution for the feeble-minded a few hundred yards westerly on Queen Street. His return to England at the end of Michaelmas Term 1899 was regarded as a great loss to the life of the College and to the community.

²⁰At St. Margaret's, Professor Huntingford assisted the Reverend R. J. Moore, '82, later Rector of St. George's, Toronto. When asked how things were going there, "Hunty's" invariable answer was "everything is bang-up at Peggy's."

Professor Huntingford's method was to test every freshman to see what he could do—"but do something he had to, or become a nonentity." In this way he recruited the dramatic club, the glee club, the boxing club, and the steeplechase. He also set up a form of compulsory physical training. In October 1892 freshmen were notified that they would be required to take a cross-country run each morning before breakfast. The formation of this "Hunt Club," as it was called, was not a popular move at first, but in time the physical improvement of the men was noticeable and this preliminary training was of great benefit to those taking part in games. In boxing he encouraged the men by his own example in putting on the gloves with them. The first assault-at-arms ever held at Trinity was organized by Professor Huntingford in March 1892 and proved quite successful. 'Hunty' as master of ceremonies added to the entertainment by giving a skilful exhibition of the single-stick in a bout with George Heward, '93. In the annual steeplechase he personally took charge of the marking of the course, the timing, and other technical details. Occasionally he led the way over the course mounted on a gallant steed borrowed from the neighbouring undertakers, a white horse, whose only other excitement was leading the annual Orangemen's parade on the twelfth of July, his rider impersonating "King Billy." In 1896, on account of the building up of the city to the north, Professor Huntingford altered the course to one covering part of Dundas Street, northward on Rusholme Road, across the fields to the east and down Gore Vale to the College.

Professor Oswald Rigby, appointed Dean of Residence in January 1892, was the first full-time Professor of History. Although prominent as a scholar it is as Dean that he is best remembered. If he was not always able to take part in sports he was always on hand to encourage the men and frequently coached them. For a time he acted as treasurer of the Ath-

letic Association and handled its finances with sound judgment. He was a great enthusiast for cricket but preferred to view a game alone (not, however, without his favourite pipe); he could not long endure the idle chatter of the "gallery"²¹ which decorated the terrace on such days as the twenty-fourth of May, the great social-athletic event of the season. At such times he would retire, with his faithful dog "Spot," to the Crawford Street boundary, and watch and smoke in peace.

The first annual games or track meet was held in 1893. It proved most successful and as time went on supplemented, although it never supplanted, the historic steeplechase, until Trinity moved to Queen's Park. In that first year, W. Rein Wadsworth, '94, won the College championship, winning the steeplechase and the half-mile run, and coming second in the mile and first in the broad jump. The following year Duncan F. Campbell, '96, was the champion and in 1896 he tied with C. A. Heaven, '96, for the honour. In this year W. F. Hubbard, '97, entered the annual games at the University of Toronto (the first Trinity man to do so). He won the open 440-yard race and placed second in the 100-yard sprint.

In 1898 an important item of expense for the Association was the purchase of a ball for a new game called basketball. This was invented by Dr. James Naismith in 1891, when a young student at the Y.M.C.A. Training School in Springfield, Mass. As an indoor game for the winter season, it rapidly found favour in the United States. Long regarded in Canada as a game more suitable for girls and for Y.M.C.A. classes, it found little recognition in Canadian university circles until 1908 when an intercollegiate group was formed in the three senior universities.

Hockey (an adaptation of the Scottish "shinny" or the English "bandy" but also claimed by the Irish as having

²¹"A lively and joyous throng of young men and maidens, old men and stately dames." *The Review*, May 1893.

been played in that country under the name of "hurley" long before the year 1300) was first played in Canada about 1855 by British regiments stationed in Halifax and Kingston; and in 1875 by members of the Montreal Football Club as a winter pastime. Two McGill men were responsible for a revision of the rules to adapt them to Canadian conditions. The first hockey league in Ontario, formed at Kingston in 1885, was merged with the Ontario Hockey Association in 1890.

By that time the game had taken hold throughout the country and had invaded the colleges. Clubs were formed at McGill and Varsity, and, according to *The Review* of January 1892, hockey had then become well established as a regular College sport at Trinity. Matches were arranged with the officers at the New Fort (later known as Stanley Barracks), Upper Canada College, the University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall, and other clubs. Among the first players to promote the game in College were John F. E. Patterson, '92, Maitland S. McCarthy, '93, W. R. Wadsworth, '94, F. G. Wallbridge, '92, C. W. Hedley, '92, and H. S. Southam, '96.²²

To obtain ice for practice was a problem until the officers of the New Fort generously placed their rink at Trinity's disposal. Unfortunately play was hampered by seasonal thaws but the beginning was considered satisfactory, Trinity emerging with three victories and three defeats. The next season was better; two teams were organized. The seniors travelled to Kingston and returned R.M.C.'s generous hospitality by defeating them 8 to 7 in a close finish. In spite of lack of practice and poor team play, they were beaten only by Varsity and that by a very close score.

Handicaps to efficient playing were uncertain weather, poor ice, and the lack of a rink at the College. In 1894 an inter-year series was organized, and proved so popular that the "Athletic" was prevailed upon to build a rink north of

²²In his final year Harry Southam captained the cricket, rugby football, and hockey teams.

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the College building. This provided a fine sheet of ice with room for five teams to practice. In 1895 the senior team reached the finals for the O.H.A. cup, but the following year, although apparently stronger, was eliminated in the first round. The vagaries of the weather again prevented team practice and the need of a covered rink was felt more than ever. The second team fared better, winning seven out of their eight games, which included a trip to Oakville and city games with the Ontario Bank, the Victorias, Stanley Barracks, and Varsity II whom they defeated 12 to 2. The inter-year games were the only sure ones, but even they were sometimes affected by mild weather and in some years had to be abandoned altogether. The College rink was not always kept in good condition on account of shortage of labour and the indifference of the freshmen whose duty it was to care for it.

The organization of the Intercollegiate Hockey Union to provide an intermediate and junior series and the building of an artificial ice arena in the city opened up new possibilities and in 1910 a group was formed consisting of Trinity, Wycliffe, McMaster, and Varsity II. Again the College made a good showing by reaching the semi-finals. The interfaculty series at the University of Toronto also offered competition for the Jennings Cup, the records showing that in 1915 Trinity, in spite of a low registration, with H. E. Orr, '17, as captain, reached the semi-finals. After the First World War, Trinity re-entered interfaculty competition and in 1919-20 had sufficient material for two teams, one in the interfaculty series and one composed of freshmen which competed with Victoria freshmen and Appleby School. The following year Trinity, under the captaincy of W. H. R. Lawrence, '21, won the Jennings Cup, defeating the powerful Victoria team in the final game. Again in 1939 and in 1940, Trinity College won this trophy, the emblem of hockey supremacy within the University.

That federation with the Provincial University had, for a time, a detrimental effect on College athletics is undoubtedly true. Under Federation Trinity gave up its University powers, except in Divinity, and became a part and numerically a small part of the larger institution. But for what Trinity lost in traditions and exclusiveness, it soon found compensation in the larger arena of intercollegiate and interfaculty competition. It was no easy road. First the aspiring athlete had to prove his ability in College competition, and then move through two and sometimes three stages in competition with the athletes of other colleges before winning a place on a University team.

The interfaculty competitions at the University were started in 1894 in rugby football by D. Bruce Macdonald²³ and his associates to develop material for the senior Varsity team. This move was encouraged by the Vice-Chancellor who at that time donated the cup which bears his name.²⁴ A year later the Arts faculty presented a cup for competition in association football. A similar trophy, presented in 1898 by William T. Jennings,²⁵ examiner in Engineering, was given to the School of Practical Science, now the Faculty of Applied Science, and handed over to the University for competition in hockey. In 1909 Sir Clifford Sifton, the father of W. B. Sifton, U.C. '10, gave a handsome trophy for competition in basketball within the University. W. B. Sifton was an enthusiast for the game which was beginning to find favour in intercollegiate circles. All these, and similar trophies offered by graduates and others from time to time, have

²³Donald Bruce Macdonald, U.C. '95, M.A. '97, LL.D. '06, headmaster of St. Andrew's College, 1900-35; member of the Royal Commission on the University 1905; member of the Board of Governors 1906-45, and Chairman of the Board 1932-45.

²⁴(Sir) William Mulock (1844-1944), U.C. '63, M.A. '71, LL.D. '94; Chief Justice of Ontario, 1903; Vice-Chancellor, University of Toronto, 1881-1900, Chancellor 1924-44. The Mulock Cup has been competed for annually, without exception, for fifty-eight years.

²⁵William Tindal Jennings, surveyor and eminent engineer, a believer in athletics for engineering students. He was City Engineer 1890-1.

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opened up avenues of competition in almost every sport suited to the taste and ability of the student.

In 1910 Trinity College entered a team in the Mulock Cup series in rugby football and reached the semi-finals. A team has been entered annually ever since, even in the war years of 1914-18 when all the men in College numbered less than the regulation number for a rugby squad—and these students were either under age or unfit for military service. Frequently the Trinity men have won their group, often they have reached the semi-finals, occasionally they have been runners-up and, in 1931, under the captaincy of Stuart Martin, '32, and coached by George W. Gooderham, '31, and Les. Blackwell²⁶ they won the Mulock Cup. The victory was a well-earned one and the glory all the greater because of the excellence of the Victoria and Applied Science teams. The cup was presented by the venerable donor himself, the Right Honourable Sir William Mulock, LL.D., K.C.M.G., at the Athletic Dinner on the twenty-sixth of November. The following year Trinity lost the final game to Victoria and in 1933 again reached the semi-finals. In 1950 the Trinity rugby team won all its group games, was triumphant in the semi-finals and only went down to defeat against the powerful and professionally coached Forestry team by a score of 24 to 14. Trinity might have won the title oftener, if her students had not contributed generously to the teams of the University. In some years as many as ten of her best rugby players made the University squads, an example not always followed by colleges and faculties with a much higher enrolment.

An offspring of the steeplechase,²⁷ "where hill and stream

²⁶The Honourable L. E. Blackwell, U.C. '24, K.C., Attorney-General of Ontario 1943-48.

²⁷The steeplechase was originally a horse-race across a track of country abounding in ditches, hedges, fences, and other obstacles. The goal was a distant conspicuous object, frequently a church steeple, hence the name. In the modern harrier race there are no obstacles, the rules requiring a race of five or six miles, partly on pavement, partly on rough roads, and partly across fields and open country.

and many an inconvenient fence had to be surmounted," was the harrier race, introduced into University competition after Federation. The College steeplechase had been an annual event even in the early days of Episkopon "when men still understood the Greek of Met' Agona." It took place traditionally on the afternoon of the twenty-eighth of October, the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, the patron saints of students.²⁸ This event was followed by the beer supper, also famous in College history. The latter, as such, was formally abolished in 1901 but before that the date of the steeplechase as well as of the athletic dinner which followed it had become a movable feast. Outstanding runners of their times were R. H. Temple ("Reggie" to his familiars), '97, eminent lawyer and an officer in the first Canadian contingent to South Africa at the time of the Boer War, 1899; E. P. S. Spencer, '98,²⁹ who donated the Spencer Cup for the best time; and P. H. Gordon, '05,³⁰ who won the steeplechase in three successive years (and the cup "for keeps") and the College championship in 1905. Victor R. Smith, '05, won the Provost's Cup for first place in 1905, with R. G. Armour a close second.

Harold V. Routh, on the staff in the Department of Classics 1905-12, was a Cambridge man of distinction and an all-round athlete, runner, boxer, wrestler, and fencer. Under his supervision and inspired by his enthusiasm, student interest, which had slumped somewhat since the departure of Professor Huntingford and Walter H. White, '90 (Fellow in Classics from 1894 to 1899), was aroused to new heights of

²⁸*Vide Met' Agona.*

²⁹The Reverend E. P. S. Spencer, sometime Rector of Port Robinson and later Rector at Mystic, Conn. In 1897 he won the race from scratch, establishing a record of five minutes. In 1896 the race had been made a handicap and the course altered on account of the building up of the district north of the College.

³⁰The Honourable Percival Hector Gordon, '05, M.A. '07, B.C.L. '09, C.B.E.; Justice of the Court of Appeal of Saskatchewan since 1935; Chancellor of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle 1932-42; Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Canadian Red Cross Society, 1941-44.

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athletic endeavour. Routh had an Englishman's passion for sports. He was one of the few dons who were privileged to keep a dog in residence and his was one of the most miserable hairy specimens of the wire-haired breed ever produced. "Henry" needed a constitutional three times a week and the only place large enough for him to steer his erratic course was High Park. On these occasions Routh would send his lieutenants, Ron Hendy³¹ and Jack Dykes, '13, through College with instructions to see that not a man remained in his rooms. Presently a motley procession would move out of the Queen Street grounds, headed by Routh and the said "Henry" at a very hot pace (which became hotter when they reached High Park) and cheered on its way by the greatest sport in College, Bill Hazell,³² who would wave one of his crutches at the laggards and offer to show them how to run. Thus long-distance running was developed at Trinity.³³

The gymnasium in the basement of the east wing, built in 1895, lacking proper equipment, had fallen more or less into disuse. R. V. Harris, '02, sought to restore its usefulness by collecting sufficient money from among the students with which to buy horizontal bars, a punching bag and other accessories. But his efforts were, to a large extent, nullified by the lack of co-operation on the part of the College authorities. Without adequate heating it was impossible to use the gymnasium in winter. Three years later, however, these conditions were somewhat improved, a heating system was installed, and the place made more habitable.

In the ten years following Federation down to the out-

³¹Ronald Alexander Hendy, class of 1915, in attendance 1911-14; enlisted as a trooper in the King Edward Horse 1914; Lieutenant, Royal Warwickshire Regiment, wounded; Intelligence officer in Ireland after the war; kidnapped and believed killed during the troubles in April 1922.

³²William Hazell, '17, "a man who knew more of the rules and strategy of all games than most participants, a man who never missed a practice or a game, yet who was unable to take an active part in them. His coaching and advice helped us out of many a bad hole." Eric Machell, '15.

³³From the reminiscences of Reginald A. Cluff, '15.

break of the First World War the athletic programme followed a general pattern. Cricket and tennis were the spring activities. Rugby football, with inter-year competition, a field day with a full programme of track and field events, and the time-honoured steeplechase completed the autumn calendar of sports. Hockey and skating, when weather permitted, and the College rink provided scope for winter recreation. In 1909 Mr. John Brotherton donated for competition a team trophy for cross-country running, in which Trinity men under the leadership of Professor Routh took part. Not only did they win permanent possession of the cup,³⁴ but with such men as Jack Dykes, Harry Hayes, R. A. Hendy, Ivan E. Kennedy, and R. A. Cluff provided men for Varsity first teams. On the intercollegiate championship teams of 1912 and 1913, four of the five men were from Trinity, and in 1914, three of the five with Hayes as manager won the H. R. Little Cup. In 1913 A. Harding Priest, '12, of Trinity was manager of the University senior team.

In 1910 the annual field day of thirteen events brought out a large number of contestants including three relay teams. The steeplechase had an unprecedented number of runners including Bill Ford, Harry Hayes, A. H. Priest (who also made the senior Varsity harrier team), Jack Dykes, Art Boddy, E. H. Flesher, J. B. Collip, and R. C. Berkinshaw. Boxing, but on a somewhat higher plane than in the Pelican Club, thanks again to Professor Routh, became an annual event; Sheppard, Jones, and Hayes were sent to the University bouts in the 125, 135, and 145 weights respectively. About this time Trinity entered a team in interfaculty basketball, and, in 1913-14, won the Sifton Cup in a sixteen-team series, a notable achievement. In the final game they doubled the score on their powerful opponents, the Victoria College team. Trinity's record for 1913-14 was a remarkable

³⁴In 1915 Mr. Brotherton presented another trophy, which bears his name, to the University of Toronto for annual interfaculty competition.

one. Though the smallest in numbers of any college or faculty, she played an important part in University athletics. Her teams were first in cricket, first in harrier, tied for first place in boxing, fencing, and wrestling, first in basketball, third in rugby football (with twelve teams competing), and eighth in hockey (with sixteen teams in competition).

The Presidents of the "Athletic" from Federation to the outbreak of the First World War were E. H. Ker, V. R. Smith, '05, R. A. Jamieson, '06, E. A. Baker, '08, P. M. Lamb, '08, G. W. Morley, '10, J. H. Dixon, '10, J. G. Althouse, '12, A. H. Boddy, '13, Harry Hayes, '14, and William Hazell, '17.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 soon affected College athletics. Intercollegiate competition was dropped from 1915 to 1919 and interfaculty contests were reduced on account of the compulsory military training. Only those pastimes were retained which were necessary for physical fitness. By 1916 Trinity had dropped cricket, basketball, indoor baseball, hockey, track and field sports, and harrier, retaining only the steeplechase, rugby, and such inter-year games as were necessary for recreation.

With the cessation of hostilities and the return to College of many former students who had joined the armed forces a new era commenced. The period from 1918 to 1925 was transitional in athletics, preparatory to the removal to Queen's Park, which had been delayed on account of the war. The first year was principally one of organization; teams were entered only in rugby, basketball, and hockey and in the tennis tournament. No attempt was made to hold a field day, and although the traditional steeplechase was run as usual, there were only fifteen contestants. Meanwhile in 1919, with D'Arcy Argue Counsell Martin as President and J. F. Davidson as Secretary, the "Athletic" got into full swing. A track and field meet, the first in five years, was held with a full programme of twelve events. The Trinity

team won the interfaculty harrier, entering thirteen runners, of whom four were among the first eight and two, Jack Davidson and Hugh Ketchum, made the Varsity intercollegiate team. In 1920-21 the College reached the semi-finals in the competitions for the Sifton and the Mulock Cups, won the Jennings Cup with the first hockey team, and the indoor baseball championship, both against formidable opposition. The College tennis tournament brought out a large number of contestants, the championship going to D'Arcy Martin, who defeated Hugh and Phil Ketchum³⁵ in the semi finals, The basketball team uncovered new talent in John Lowe of the year 1920,³⁶ Percy Lowe, '20, Hugh Ketchum, '21, R. T. C. Dwelly, '22, H. J. Stowe, '22, and D'Arcy Martin, '20, and reached the semi-finals for the Sifton Cup. The following year practically the same team proceeded to the finals and lost by a very small margin to a powerful University College team.

In track events Jack Davidson was easily the College champion, breaking the College record for the 440 yards, winning the half-mile and the three mile, and achieving second place in the broad jump. He proceeded to the interfaculty competition, where he was second in the half-mile and won a place on the Varsity intercollegiate team. The following year John Lowe was the College champion, breaking the record for the broad jump, with Davidson a close second in total points. Davidson again made the Varsity senior team. Trinity's last field day on the old grounds was held in October 1924.

The opening of the new Trinity College building on Hoskin Avenue in 1925 brought Trinity into a still closer relationship with the other federated and affiliated colleges and the

³⁵Philip A. C. Ketchum, '23, since 1933 headmaster of Trinity College School, Port Hope.

³⁶The Reverend John Lowe, '21, M.A. '22, D.D. (*honoris causa*) '39; Rhodes Scholar 1922; Lecturer and Professor in the Faculty of Divinity, 1927-39; Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, since 1939; Vice-Chancellor, University of Oxford, 1948.

several faculties of the University of Toronto. The fear expressed in 1904 that Federation with the Provincial University would deprive Trinity of many of her cherished traditions and that she would lose her identity in the larger institution had proved without foundation in athletics. The admirable interfaculty system in the University, commenced in a small way in 1894 and expanded from time to time as need arose, provided outlets for athletic activity in all sports.

Squash racquets and badminton are among recent additions to the athletic programme. Both have been played for years thanks to the wise provision in the plans of Hart House for adequate courts and a gymnasium. The squash racquets courts were originally intended for graduate use only, but it was not long before insistent demands from undergraduates brought about the formation of a joint committee to control the use of the courts. In 1921 a constitution was approved, D'Arcy Martin, '20, being one of the two graduate members. Undergraduates have on the average formed from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the total number using the courts. The first interfaculty tournament was organized in 1927 and one has been held annually ever since. In 1945, Toronto teams were sent to McGill and Dartmouth, and this was the beginning of intercollegiate competition which developed by 1949 into a four-team group consisting of Toronto, McGill, the Royal Military College, and McMaster. In 1935 Professor C. A. Ashley, to promote interest in squash competition, donated a cup which is awarded annually to the College champion. Now squash racquets is officially recognized by the Athletic Association as an interfaculty sport, with points counted for the intra-mural trophy and credits given for physical training. Trinity men have not been slow to avail themselves of the advantage in this as in other activities.

The lack of a playing field in the crowded University area was a serious handicap until 1934. In that year the Athletic Association undertook the laying out of a full-sized football

field north of the College, which is also used for hockey during the winter months.

In 1945 a trophy, to be awarded annually to a student for all-round athletic ability and sportsmanship, was presented to the Athletic Association of the College by Mrs. W. T. Cluff in memory of her son, Howard Roger Cluff, '12, a prominent member of the Association during his College career, who was particularly interested in harrier competition.

The development of the interfaculty or intra-mural system in athletics has proved of great advantage to the smaller colleges. In recent years further expansion has made it possible for colleges and faculties to enter more than one team in a series, thus providing for greater participation. For example: a large faculty such as Applied Science with an enrolment of nearly 2,000 students could enter, as in the academic year 1950-51, twenty-eight teams in basketball alone and thus provide for three hundred students. Trinity in the same year entered five teams to provide for fifty-one men who aspired to play that game. Altogether, in team sports that year Trinity had seventeen teams with a total membership of 237 men, ranking sixth among the seventeen faculties, colleges, and schools participating. In tournament, or individual type sports, that is, track and field, harrier, tennis, swimming, boxing, in the same academic year Trinity had ninety-one men participating, ranking fourth, an excellent showing when compared with Applied Science where 204 men were enrolled in sports of the tournament type.

To stimulate interest in competitive sports there was established in 1936 a High Point Championship and a trophy was given by the athletic associations of the several colleges and faculties throughout the University. This intra-mural Trophy, named in honour of T. A. Reed, '01, Secretary of the University of Toronto Athletic Association from 1914 to 1947, is awarded annually to the college or faculty scoring the highest number of points during the academic year. But

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this scoring system is unique in that it is designed to encourage the smaller colleges by awarding higher points for the numbers participating in proportion to the male enrolment. Other points are awarded for the winning of a group, reaching the semi-finals, and, of course, winning an individual team championship. Trinity, in the sixteen years of competition, has won the Trophy three times, ranked second six times, and third, three times. It will thus be seen that Trinity has in no way lost her identity in the larger arena of University competition.

The interfaculty championships won by Trinity men since Federation are as follows: Basketball (the Clifford Sifton Cup) 1914; Harrier (the Brotherton Cup) 1911, 1912, 1913, 1919; Indoor Baseball (the Spalding Cup) 1921; Hockey (the Jennings Cup) 1921, 1939, 1940; Rugby football (the Mulock Cup) 1931—runners-up, 1932, 1950; Swimming, Individual (the Durnan Trophy), Winston A. McCatty 1933, 1934, 1935, Cressy A. McCatty 1936; Gymnastics (the Harold A. Wilson Trophy) 1935, 1950; Swimming (the A. M. Fitzgerald Trophy) 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937—tied with Applied Science for first place 1951; Water Polo (the H. P. Eckardt Trophy) 1934, 1939; Golf 1941, 1942; Tennis—University Champion: M. E. Jones 1943, R. Lau 1944; Swimming League 1947, 1948; Soccer (the Arts Faculty Cup) 1948, 1949; Harrier team, freshmen, 1949; Squash, team championship, 1949, 1950, 1951; Squash, individual champion (the Boake Trophy), E. Howard 1948, J. W. Biddell 1949, R. Gaunt 1951.

Nor has the University suffered. Trinity, proud of her position as a college with great traditions, has contributed loyally to University teams. The Colour Books show that eighty-one Trinity men have received the University First Colour as members of senior teams, and of these men fifteen were granted the Bronze "T"—the highest award in the gift of the Athletic Association. Second Colours have been awarded to 140 members of intermediate teams and the Third Colour to 116 junior players.

EPILOGUE



N SUNDAY, the thirteenth of January 1952 a great Service of Thanksgiving in St. James' Cathedral inaugurated the Centenary Celebrations of the College. His Grace the Primate of All Canada, the Most Reverend Walter Foster Barfoot, Archbishop of Edmonton, preached the sermon. The Right Reverend L. W. B. Broughall, formerly Bishop of Niagara, and the Right Reverend W. L. Wright, Lord Bishop of Algoma, both graduates of the College, took part in the service. Representatives of the University of Toronto, of the federated Colleges, of the Provincial Legislature, and of the City of Toronto were in attendance, together with a great company of students, graduates, and friends of the College. The sixth Bishop of Toronto, standing beside the grave of his predecessor, our Founder, pronounced the Benediction. So the full cycle of a hundred years has been fulfilled.

It is a far cry from those first days to the present time, from the first enrolment of twenty-one students to the 549 enrolled today, from a staff consisting of the Provost and two Professors to the present teaching staff of thirty-three. The preceding pages tell the story of hope and confidence and loyalty through all the vicissitudes of our history. Many things remain the same. Our place within the educational structure has not changed. We still stand for the unity of education and Christian faith and practice. Perhaps our contribution here is even more important now than it was a hundred years ago, for we have the privilege and responsibility of being the only place of higher education from which virtually no students can graduate without instruction in the Christian faith. We still stand for that ideal of

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education which is described as a community of scholars. Our numbers now would horrify our founders, but they are still small in relation to other universities and colleges, and we can still maintain that close association between teacher and student which makes higher learning a communal adventure. Perhaps we have fewer eccentric characters than at some periods of our history—time alone will make that plain—but we still rely upon people rather than a system, and depend upon a teaching staff whose loyalty to the College and its principles is the dominant motive of their teaching. In all these matters, were John Strachan to return to us today, he would feel quite at home.

Other sections of this story strike a contemporary note. Deficits, insufficient endowments, inadequate buildings—these things are with us still. Perhaps their constant recurrence has a lesson to teach us which we find hard to learn. Whatever it is that Trinity has to contribute, it is independent of material security. It is our resolve in this Centenary Year to try to repair some of these material deficiencies. In particular, we desire to see the erection of a chapel which will be worthy of our Founder's hope and faith and which will be a fitting memorial to the fallen of two wars. We wish to complete our residences so that we may become again a college that is truly residential in character. We wish to increase our endowments so that, among other things, our teaching staff may receive remuneration commensurate with their abilities. These plans and endeavours are uppermost in our minds at the present time, and they are worthy objectives to mark our Centenary. This history is a salutary reminder of the proper value of these things. They are necessary instruments for carrying out our true function, but our real task is greater and more imponderable. These pages are concerned above all else with people, with men of character who have guided our destinies, with men and women who have gone out from our family to enrich the community at

large. A college is not a building, nor is it a place for the communication of learning. It is a community of people who, by the interchange of ideas, by the sharing of ideals, and by the common formation of purposes, form a way of life which they find to be good. Having practised it among themselves, they then try to practise it in the larger society.

There has possibly never been a century which has encompassed as radical a change of life as that through which we have lived. It has witnessed the full effects of the Industrial Revolution. It has seen that whole revolution of thought to which Darwin's *Origin of Species* gave rise. It has experienced war on a scale unprecedented in history, and within it have developed means of communication which at its beginning would have been held unthinkable. A whole new pattern of world relationships, both within the Commonwealth and outside it, has emerged, and for the first time since the Dark Ages there has grown up a serious threat to all that is understood by Western civilization. Even more intensified has been the change in our own country: the rise of Confederation and all that that implies; the opening up of the western provinces; the vast increases in population; the new status of Canada in world affairs. In January 1852 no bishop had ever been consecrated on Canadian soil, all eastern Canada comprised five dioceses, and Rupert's Land was the only diocese to the west. No Diocesan Synod had ever been held, and the General Synod had not been thought of. The whole missionary work of the Canadian Church lay in the future. All those things which preoccupy our minds and modify our thoughts and colour our daily lives are products of this hundred years. With all these changes and developments one might well think that the tasks of the College would have radically changed and our objectives for the future be different. Yet it remains true that our universities, for all that they are the centres of new thought and new learning, change less than the communities to which

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they pass on the results of their researches. Fundamentally, they are untouched by time and by the tremendous implications of their own discoveries. This is because they are concerned with human beings, and human nature is not changed as radically by its environment as some might think.

Our task for future centuries remains the same, to send out from our community men and women who can bring to bear on the immediate problems of their society values and standards which have stood the test of change. They bring to bear upon the present the experience of the past and so are freed from the tyranny of the immediate. They have learnt independence of thought and action, and therefore direct events instead of being enmeshed by them. They have learnt to prove all things and to hold fast to that which is good. In the hope of fulfilling such a task, John Strachan made the well-nigh superhuman efforts which led to our foundation. In honour of his memory, but even more in adherence to the principles which he held, we continue to endeavour to fulfil them.

One great resource is ours which was denied to those who started out in 1852. They had the support and loyalty of many friends and well-wishers. Those we have still, but to them is added the goodly company of graduates and alumni scattered all over the world who remain within our family and whose loyalty to their College and faith in those things for which it stands provide a stimulus to endeavour and an encouragement to strive for greater things. No one can help being conscious of the great cloud of witnesses which surrounds Trinity College. Because of them it cannot but be strong to serve Church and State and remain dedicated to the cause of true learning and Christian living.

TRINITY COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO BECAME BISHOPS

Maurice Scollard Baldwin, '59; Huron 1883-1904.
William Reid Clark, '74; Niagara 1911-1925.
Clarendon Lamb Worrell, '74; Nova Scotia 1904, Metropolitan 1915,
Primate 1930-1934.
James Fielding Sweeny, '83; Toronto 1909-1932, Metropolitan 1932.
William Lennox Mills, '84; Ontario 1900-1917.
(Sir) Francis Heathcote, '91; New Westminster 1941-1950.
Adam Urias de Pencier, '95; New Westminster 1910, Metropolitan
1925-1940.
Charles Allen Seager, '95; Ontario 1926, Huron 1932, Metropolitan
1943-1948.
Lewis Wilmot Bovell Broughall, '97; Niagara 1933-1949.
Derwyn Trevor Owen, '01; Niagara 1925, Toronto 1932, Primate
1934-1947.
John Lyons, '06; Ontario 1932, Metropolitan 1949-1952.
John Harkness Dixon, '10; Montreal 1943.
George Frederick Kingston, '13; Algoma 1940, Nova Scotia 1944,
Primate 1947-1950.
Harold Eustace Sexton, '20; Co-adjutor, British Columbia 1935,
Bishop 1936.
George Nasmith Luxton, '24; Huron 1948.
William Lockridge Wright, '27; Algoma 1944.
Tom Greenwood, '34; Yukon 1952.
Peter Trimble Rowe, '80; Alaska 1895-1942.
Charles Henry Brent, '84; Philippines 1901; Western New York
1918-1929.
Charles Scadding, '85; Oregon 1906-1914.
Charles Palmerston Anderson, '86; Coadjutor, Chicago 1900, Bishop
1905-1930; Presiding Bishop U.S.A. 1930.
Frederick Bingham Howden, '91; New Mexico 1914-1940.
Frank DuMoulin, '92; Coadjutor, Ohio 1916.
Francis Yen-Shan Tseng, '41; Assistant Bishop of Honan 1948, Bishop
1950.

THE FALLEN 1914-1918

Henry Harold Allen, '05
Thomas William Edward Allen, '11
Gordon Stewart Andrews, '10
William George Henry Bates, '97
David Benjamin Bentley, '91
George Herbert Bowlby, '88
Thomas Pattison Camelon, '90
Duncan Frederic Campbell, '96
Robert Alexander Rankine
 Campbell, '14
Adam Peden Chalmers, '92
Paul Brooks Clarke, '18
Allen Charles Mackenzie Cleghorn,
 '92
Walter Henry T. Cooper, '88
Ernest Herbert Cox, '09
James Philip Crawford, '06
John Arthur Cullum, '05
Basil Lancelot Cumpston, '15
Carl de Fallot, '05
Robert John Gunn Dow, '05
Roy Anderson Forsyth, '16
Charles Randolph Gillan, '15
Henry Arthur Harding, '04
Webster Henry Fanning Harris, '11
John Hately, '13
George Frederick Hayden,
 Staff '14-'16
Henry Stuart Hayes, '14
James Henderson, '02
William Anderson Henderson, '98
David Edwin Howes, '06
James Hamilton Ingersoll, '17
George Leycester Ingles, '08
Harry Alexander Taylor Kennedy,
 '16
Cleveland Keyes, '15
Douglas Sherwood McCarter, '18
Kenneth Ogilvie McEwen, '98
John Dewar McMurrich, '95
Maurice Irving Machell, '12
Frederick John Strange Martin, '96
Gordon McMichael Matheson, '14
Henry Keble Merritt, '86
Richard Arthur Mitchell, '16
Herbert Stanley Monkman, '06
John Ferguson Palling, '88
Evan Edward Price, '19
John Henry Ratz, '95
Ronald E. Mackenzie Richards, '16
Frederick William Rous, '10
Jeffery Fielder Smith, '06
Charles Ashbury Sparling, '04
Frederick Ivanhoe Taylor, '17
Richard Henry Thomson, '18
Reginald Prinsep Wilkins, '14
Matthew Maurice Wilson, '18
Philip Hamilton Wilson, '97
O. B. Wordsworth, Staff '14-'15
Martin Cortlandt De Bude Young,
 '17

MET' AGONA STEPHANOS

THE FALLEN 1939-1945

Godfrey Thomas Alfred Sissener
Archbold, '35
George Edgar Auld, '30
Graham Macnaughton Baker, '39
Robert John Brennan, '33
Dorothy Florence Britton, '43
Edward Robert Burns, '43
John Mallory Carroll, '44
George Stevenson Cartwright, '29
Hollis Andrew Taylor Clark, '37
James Murray Clark, '44
John Franklin Clarke, '40
Frederick John Arthur Coleman, '42
James Hill Cunningham, '45
Harry Rosser Emerson, '37
Douglas Joseph Farrell, '43
John Alexander Foster, '29
Reginald Cuthbert Gibbs, '35
Maurice Weir Gibson, '37
Hugh Lockhart Gordon, '42
Edward Alexander McDougall
 Grange, '40
Elmes Patrick Trevelyan Green, '35
Edward Nesbitt Heighington, '37
John Roper Henderson, '43
David Selwyn Holmested, '35
Eric Harry Hutcheson, '42
Thomas Frederick Hyndman, '43
John Denison Jackson, '44
Stuart William Jamieson, '40
Wilfred Sydney Johnson, '37
Harlan David Keely, '45
Frederick Southam Ker, '41
Harold Wilmer Kerby, '38
Jeffery Cayley Laidlaw, '41
Andrew Owen Learmonth, '39
Torkel Torkelsson Lundberg, '43
William Francis McCarthy, '42
Winston Alexander McCatty, '36
Edward Gregg MacLoghlin, '32
James Edward Temple McMullen,
 '33
Michael Stuart Mills, '39
Henry George Northway, '33
David Derwyn Owen, '39
Edward Burdess Peart, '40
Reginald Bruce Peterson, '35
David Martin Philp, '43
William Thorton Purkis, '36
Ralph Crossley Ripley, '37
Christopher Fothergill Robinson,
 '33
David Francis Gaston Rouleau, '41
Ronald Franklin William Sedgwick,
 '45
George Graham Sinclair, '30
John Morris Gregory Smart, '45
Douglas Schuyler Snively, '44
Paul Edward Snyder, '39
Gordon Kent Stephen, '45
Robert Ian Orde Stewart, '36
William Dunlop Stewart, Jr., '43
John Marne Storey, '37
George Henry Kirkpatrick Strathy,
 '40
Ralph Richard Sturgeon, '40
William Ronald Rutherford Sutton,
 '36
Douglas Bond Symons, '37
Robert Keith Templeton, '40
Edward Blake Thompson, '39
Donald Francis Trebell, '35

MET' AGONA STEPHANOS

THE ARMS OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE

THE arms of Trinity, so familiar to graduates of the College, are, in part, older than the College itself. In 1839, the Honourable and Venerable John Strachan, Archdeacon of York, was consecrated Bishop of the newly formed Diocese of Toronto. In the same year the College of Heralds granted to the Diocese the arms which in 1852 formed the dexter half* of the College arms; for the sinister, or left half, Dr. Strachan added his own badge or insignia, the stag. These arms were carved on the foundation stone which was laid on the thirtieth of April 1851, and which can be seen today surmounting the foundation stone of the new building on the west side of the main doorway of the College.

In heraldic terms these arms are described as follows: Azure a crozier in bend dexter surmounted by a key in bend sinister or, between an Imperial crown in chief, two open books in fess proper, and a dove rising in base argent, holding in the beak an olive branch vert; Impaling azure, a stag trippant or, armed and unguled gules. The shield surmounted by a mitre.

Interpreted, this means: On the right hand side of the shield, on a blue ground, a pastoral staff and a key of gold crossed; a crown above, two books—one on each side, and a dove below, about to fly, holding in the beak a green olive branch; On the left side, on a blue ground a white stag walking (that is, with one foot raised) with antlers and hoofs red.

The stag is the badge of Bishop Strachan and the mitre indicates that the founder of the College was a Bishop; the crown denotes the Royal foundation of the College; the books, the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer; the crozier or shepherd's crook, the authority of the Bishop; the key, the authority of the Church; the dove with the olive branch, the emblem of peace and goodwill.

The arms of St. Hilda's College are simpler. Azure, between three fleur-de-lys argent, on a fess of the second argent an open book proper. That is, on a blue ground three white lilies; in the centre of the shield a band of white on which is placed an open book in its proper colour. The motto: *Timor Dei Principium Sapientiae.*

*The dexter side of the shield is on the right of the man standing behind the shield.

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